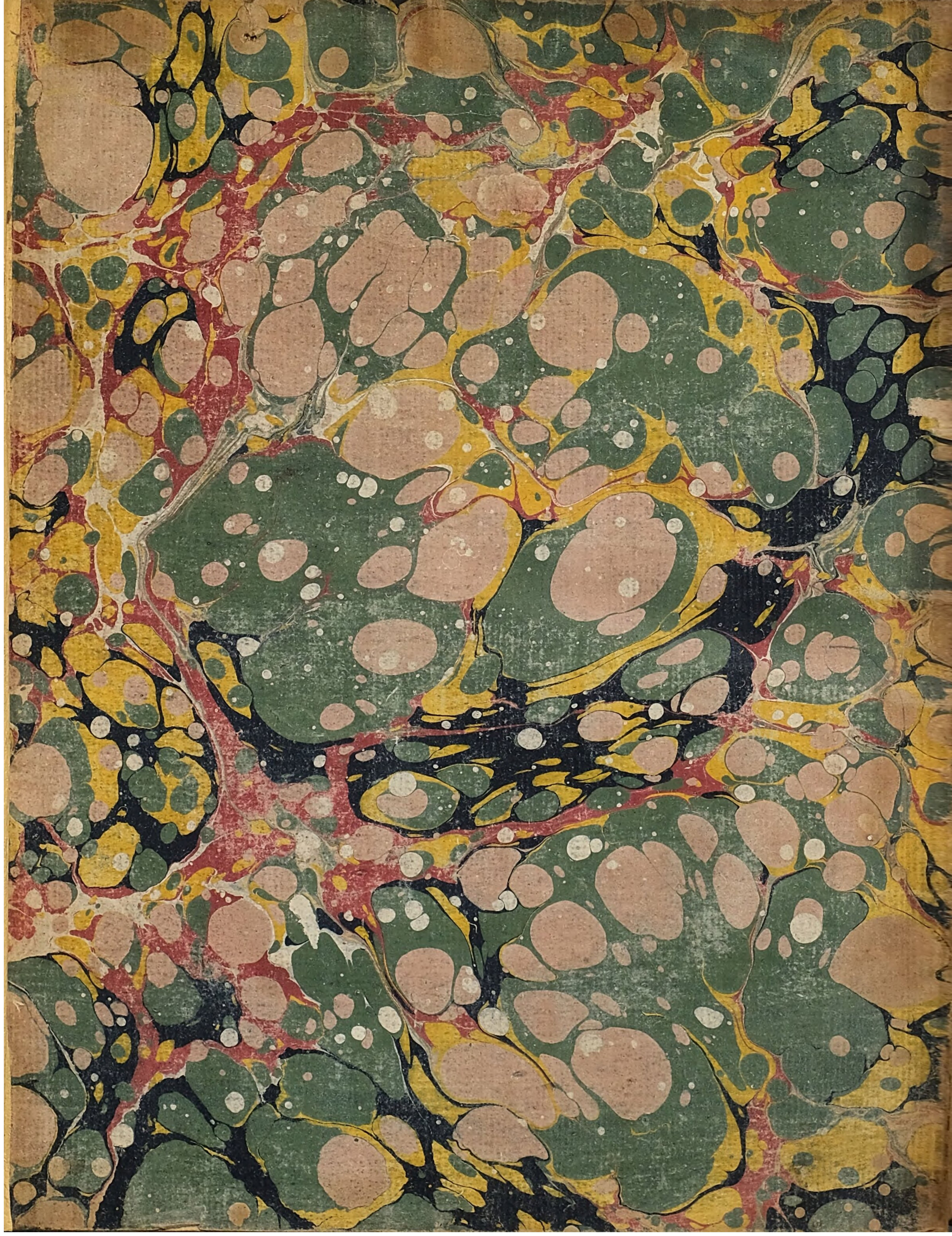






CAPT^N. GORDON,
Royal Navy.



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T H E
RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE
O F T H E
NORTHERN GOVERNMENTS;

V I Z.
THE UNITED PROVINCES, DENMARK,
SWEDEN, RUSSIA, AND POLAND:

O R,
O B S E R V A T I O N S
O N
THE NATURE, CONSTITUTION, RELIGION, LAWS, POLICY, CUSTOMS, AND
COMMERCE OF EACH GOVERNMENT;
THE MANNERS AND DISPOSITIONS OF THE PEOPLE;
THEIR MILITARY FORCES BY LAND AND SEA;
THE REVENUES AND RESOURCES OF EACH POWER;
A N D O N
THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONJUNCTURES WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO
PRODUCE THE VARIOUS REVOLUTIONS WHICH HAVE HAPPENED IN THEM.
THE WHOLE DIGESTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS
AND HISTORIES, AND FROM THE REFLECTIONS AND REMARKS
MADE DURING A TOUR OF FIVE YEARS THROUGH THESE
NATIONS.

By J. W I L L I A M S, Esq.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

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RISE PROGRESS

NORTHERN GOVERNMENTS

THE UNITED STATES

OBSEVATIONS



The Commission on the

The Commission on the

By J. W. L. A. M. S.

Vol. 1

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P R E F A C E.

I Am very sensible what danger I incur, in this enlightened age, by undertaking a work of this nature, where much is ventured and little acquired; as whoever undertakes such a subject, and executes it ill, is sure of falling into contempt, and very deservedly, since no man has provoked him to expose his own folly, or to trouble the world with it: if he writes well he raises the envy and the jealousy of those writers who are in possession of the applause of mankind, and who have found that the most commodious way to their own reputation lies, whether right or wrong, in depreciating that of other men. But I own I am not much in pain in this regard; it was not the love of literary glory which induced me to compose this work, but the desire of passing my vacant hours in agreeable speculation, by observing the different humours and characters of mankind. My travels through the North, which furnished me with the subject of this undertaking, had for their primary object to see every thing, and to be as little seen as possible, to read the characters of men from the palace to the cottage, and to speculate on them without prejudice or partiality.

Certain it is that mankind were never more fond of reading than they are at this time in many parts of Europe, and undoubtedly there were never so many books published in any age as in the present; but there is notwithstanding very little real information imparted. Many of our modern authors have undertaken to give histories of countries and governments which they never saw, and to exhibit the characters of people with whom they never conversed; supposing that an easy style

and superficial remarks are the principal ingredients in the composition of History, and that facts are only to be introduced now and then, when they can be obtained: but as I am much better instructed in the latter than in the former, though this performance may not be so agreeable as a literary production from Ferney, it may furnish mankind perhaps with as much real knowledge.

Moreover it may so happen that there are some principal characters among us, who may not be displeased with seeing some useful reflections deduced from a series of facts on subjects of this kind, though unadorned with the flowers of rhetoric and the embellishments of style, and thereby trace the progress of trade and riches, and of order and power in a state; together with those likewise of weak or violent counsels, of corrupt or ill conduct, of faction or obstinacy, which impair and even dissolve the firmest governments; that so, by speculating upon foreign events, they may provide the better and the earlier against those which may happen at home, and exalt their own honour and happiness equally with the grandeur and prosperity of the people whom they govern.

I believe it will always be found, that while human nature continues as it is, the same regulations in a state, the same reverence for things sacred, and respect of civil institutions, the same virtues or vices of princes or magistrates, the same customs and humours of the people, the same discipline in armies, will produce the same effects upon the strength and greatness of all governments, upon the honour and authority of those who rule, as well as upon the safety and happiness of those who obey. Even princes themselves who employ their thoughts at times in such useful speculations, and to such ends, are amply recompensed, as they render themselves much greater and happier than subjects can be. For all the sensual pleasures that man is
capable

capable of enjoying are within the reach of a moderate fortune, and a common share of contrivance; but they grow insipid with use, can only be revived at intervals, and can be no more commanded by the rich than by the poor. But the pleasures of imagination not only heighten, refine, and extend the pleasures of sense, and make them of longer duration, but as the greatest sensualist will allow that there is a refined pleasure in pleasing, and in doing good to others, so they are the chief sources which pour dignity on human nature, and are the great fountain of all our earthly happiness. How much happier therefore must he be who wishes, and has the opportunity, to do good to one million of his fellow creatures, than he who desires only to indulge and gratify himself?

All governments were undoubtedly founded upon compact; considering the degeneracy and vices of the greatest part of mankind, the state of nature is by no means calculated either for their happiness or safety: when men resolved upon relinquishing part of their natural liberties, it was undoubtedly with the view of securing the remainder; and this could not be done without a formal contract between the governor and the governed. The opinion of Sir William Temple and others, “that the origin of subjection was, when one nation war-
“ring against another made all their prisoners their slaves, and these
“becoming subject to the conquerors by agreement, and upon certain
“conditions of safety and protection,” is not well founded; because a people who go out to war, and who are in a situation to overcome their enemies, must have some government and discipline among themselves, before they can form such an enterprize; and I believe there is not an example in history of a society of the most savage people entering upon a war without having a chief, and some government and rules for their proper conduct: hence therefore government must be antecedent, and not consequent, to wars and victories.

The

The original form of government seems to have been an elective and limited monarchy; for when a certain number of mankind resolved to quit their original state of nature, and to join in society, it is natural to suppose that they would be more disposed to follow and obey one chief than several chiefs, and to relinquish part of their liberties rather than the whole: this supposition seems to be confirmed by the ancient history of all the northern nations, before corruption found its way into these regions.

When this chief made himself beloved by executing with wisdom and integrity the power with which he was invested, it is natural that his subjects should rather wish to continue some of his family in this great place of trust, with whose good qualities and education they were well acquainted, than to entrust it to a stranger, with whom they were unacquainted: hence monarchies became hereditary.

When kings became rich, and acquired a great interest in their respective states, their first and great object was to extend the limits of their power, and to destroy the liberties of their subjects; and this they were then in a situation of effecting by corruption, intrigue, and the influence which they had already acquired; and perhaps by adding violence to it: hence the origin of absolute monarchies.

*When, in absolute monarchies, the kings exercised their authority in a tyrannical manner, and by treating their subjects as abject slaves, provoked them to rebell, and to throw off the yoke of their oppressors, some new form of government generally took place, which was according to the humour or power of the chief leaders of the rebellion, or according to the particular disposition the people were in at that time; such was the state of Rome after the expulsion of the Tarquins, such was the state of the United Provinces after their defection from Spain, and
such*

such was the situation of the Swiss Cantons after their revolt from the emperor.

This new form of government was either aristocratical or democratical; the former, when the sovereign power was entrusted to a few of the chief of the people; and the latter, when the people at large reserved to themselves the ultimate disposal of all state affairs.

It has often been seen likewise, that by particular revolutions in a state, an aristocracy has degenerated into a democracy, and a democracy into an aristocracy: these events have happened in Rome, and in the United Provinces. When an aristocratical government falls into the hands of a few, who establish it in their families, it degenerates into an oligarchy; which form of government is at present established in some of the cantons of Switzerland, particularly Berne.

It is true, there have been many states established in a different manner; when people of different nations separate themselves from their respective governments, from disgust, or from some other motive, agree to live together in society, surround themselves by walls, and by the wisdom of one or more of their body form laws, which from a full conviction of their public utility are received by all; and preserve themselves in the enjoyment of their possessions, and observance of their institutions, against all invasions; and are never forced to submit to the will of any conqueror, or condition of any absolute subjection; they are called free cities: and of such there were many antiently in Greece and in Italy; and there are many now in Germany, subject to no laws but their own, and those of the diet of the empire, which is an union of many sovereign powers, by whose general consent in this diet all its constitutions are framed and established.

These

These governments seem to be introduced either by the wisdom and moderation of some one law-giver, who had authority enough with the people to be followed and observed in all his regulations and advices, and yet preferred that which he esteemed to conduce to the public utility, before any interest or greatness of his own; as was the case of Lycurgus in Sparta, Solon in Athens, and Timoleon in Syracuse; or else by the confluence of many families, out of several countries, which were exposed to some fierce or barbarous invasions, or to the tyranny and oppression of some wretched kings, and forced into places fortified by nature or by art, and secure from the fury and misery of such conquerors and oppressors; such were Rhodes and several small islands upon the coasts of Ionia; such were Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, Dantzick, &c. and such was Venice, founded upon rocks in the sea in consequence of the inundation of the barbarous nations into Italy.

I shall not enter into any arguments upon the comparative merit of the several forms of government that have been, or at present are, in the world; as that cause commonly appears the best that has the best advocate, or is advantaged by recent experience, and impressions of good or bad conduct: all these forms of government have their elevations and their depressions, their strong and weak sides; are capable of great perfection, and subject to great corruption; and though limited monarchy, founded upon the social contract, was undoubtedly the original and natural government, yet it may perhaps be the most reasonably concluded, that those forms of government are the best which have been the longest received, and unanimously established in a nation by custom and use, and which are the most congruous to the humours and manners of the people; this being the certain criterion by which to judge of the safety and security of any form of government.

The basis on which all government stands is the consent of the people, or at least the greatest or strongest part of them; whether this proceeds from reflections upon what is past, by the respect or veneration which they have for the authority under which both they and their ancestors, perhaps for many ages past, have been born and educated; or from a sense of their present state, from the safety, ease, and plenty which they actually enjoy; or from the opinion they have of any future change, from their fears of the present government, or hopes from another. That form of government therefore which by all or any of these means takes in the consent and concurrence of the greatest number of the people, and consequently their determined resolution to support it, may justly be said to be the safest, and to stand upon the most solid foundation.

On the other hand, a government which is supported by violence, in opposition to the interests and opinions of the people, and without their consent, may justly be pronounced to be in a declining state; and by the same degrees that it loses ground in the peoples affections, it may be concluded to lose its firmness and stability: its ruin must inevitably follow, if this is done to serve the ambition, or advance the power and interests of one or more who may come to have a share in the government.

A monarchy therefore, where the sovereign endeavours to gain the affections of his subjects, and governs according to their opinion and interests, having in view always the original social contract, is of all others the safest and the most permanent government: and, on the contrary, a republican state, which is not founded upon the general humour and interest of the people, but is made to serve the ambition and particular interest of a few persons who share in the government, or depend upon it, is of all others the most instable, and the most subject

to frequent and easy changes: this fact will be clearly illustrated when I come to represent the revolutions and changes which have happened in some of the northern governments.

In a monarchical state, whenever the prince endeavours to govern according to the interests and passions of particular men, and neglects the opinions and interests of the bulk of his subjects, it becomes of all others the most dangerous, and the most subject to violent revolutions; and the more the prince and his ministers are disposed to be despotic and arbitrary, the more critical will their situation be.

When we consider the causes of the many revolutions which we find recorded in history to have happened in the governments of the world, especially in that part which is the subject of the following sheets, it will be seen that they have all been the effects of some of the above-mentioned causes; except such as have been occasioned by the irresistible force and conquests of other nations: but even when the revolutions have been produced by this means, it has always been seen that in those governments which were founded upon the general interest and opinion of the people, they shewed a degree of courage and bravery, and made such defences as were almost incredible: and on the contrary it will be observed, that all those easy conquests, which we find recorded in history, have been facilitated, if not in a great measure accelerated, by the conquered government having grown weak and unstable, from the dissatisfaction or indifference of the people; or, which is much worse, from their vicious and effeminate constitutions of body and mind, which are the consequences of a weak, vicious, and factious state.

*Thus did several of the little Græcian states, at different times, resist with success the vast power, and almost innumerable armies, of their neighbours, particularly of the Persians; thus did Rome, when
almost*

almost in her infancy, resist the Gauls and the vast armies of the rich and powerful Carthage; thus did the state of Venice resist the whole power of the Turkish empire, which in those days was deemed almost invincible; thus did the Hollanders brave the whole power of the Spanish empire, and made those haughty tyrants, though they commanded all the treasures of America, sue for peace; and thus did the Switzers bravely oppose the powerful forces of the emperors; because in all those wars the people were not only pleased with their respective forms of government, but they were united and animated by the love of their country, liberty, or religion, or by the particular affection and esteem of their chiefs.

On the other hand, when we take a view of the conquests of the Persians by Alexander, of the Egyptian, European, and Asiatic states by the Romans, of the Romans themselves in turn by the northern nations, of the ancient Britons by the Saxons, of the Gauls by the Franks, and of the Asiatics in our days by a handful of Europeans, it will be observed that the feeble resistance which those people respectively made was either owing to their effeminate dispositions, which were augmented by the examples of vicious, luxurious, or perhaps tyrannical princes, whom they neither honoured nor willingly obeyed; to the hatred which they had for their present governments, which kept them in a state of servitude or slavery, which they were content to change for any other that was offered to them; or to the factions of a discontented people, who agreed upon no common plan for their defence, nor under any form of government founded upon the general interest of the nation.

History does not furnish us with a more striking example of this kind than what has lately happened in Poland, nor hold up to us a more perfect portrait of the deplorable degeneracy of human nature,

when unassisted by reason and reflection: indeed, when we consider how often this country has been made the theatre of war, and been ravaged by foreign armies on account of their divisions and intestine commotions for several centuries past, it will evidently appear that the jealousy which its neighbours had of each other's grandeur and power, rather than the good conduct and prudence of its inhabitants, was the cause that its government has existed even to our days, as will be fully explained in the course of this work.

Indeed almost every age has afforded us examples of the instability and changes of government which have been occasioned by princes or governors acting contrary to the interests and natural inclinations of the majority of their people: hence originated the frequent changes, tumults, and seditions in the Roman and Grecian republics; in the monarchies of France, Spain, and Sicily: hence likewise the violent changes that have happened in the government of England, Sweden, and Denmark; England from the beginning of the reign of Charles the First to the abdication of James the Second; in Sweden from the beginning of the reign of Charles the Eleventh till the year 1772, when the ancient form of government was again restored; in Denmark from the accession of Christian the First of Oldenburg till the year 1660, when the people legally disqualified themselves from making any resistance to the power of the crown. The little tumults which have been occasioned since that æra by the minions of the court counter-acting each other, particularly in the late affair of Struensee, were not of consequence enough to affect the people much either the one way or the other.

The changes which have happened in the government of Russia since the time of Peter the Great were likewise occasioned by this means,
those

those which happened before this æra arose from such a barbarous confusion and tumult, that it will be very difficult to ascertain their true cause.

The United Provinces will likewise furnish us with a very signal instance of the instability of a government, though ever so well regulated at first, when it is directed by governors who act contrary to the inclination and interests of the bulk of their people. In a free state, when a particular set of men have usurped the sovereign authority, they and their friends call good order every thing which tends to ensure to themselves unbounded authority, and they term every thing dissension, bad government, and even rebellion, which tends to support the just liberties and privileges of the subject.

But these thoughts lead me too far, and therefore I must wave them to pursue my original design, which is to examine into the origin and present state of the Northern Governments; and it will be necessary in the execution of this great plan to give a brief account of the rise and progress of each particular state, to lay open the nature and constitution of their respective governments, to observe what is peculiar to them in their situation or disposition and what in their religion, to take a survey of their trade and the sources of it, of the manners and customs of the people of each state, of the forces and revenues which have aggrandized each particular government, and the circumstances and conjunctures which have contributed to produce the various revolutions that have happened in it. These are the principal heads upon which the order and arguments in the several parts of this work will be founded. Voltaire tells us, in his history of the Russian empire, that this science was never more in want of authentic documents than it is in our days, when authors so insolently make a traffic of lying; and laments the miserable situation of the press in Holland and other places, where a bookseller commands a book as a manufacturer

manufacturer commands a piece of cloth; and unhappily, says he, there are many authors whom necessity compels to sell their writings to these tradesmen as a labourer does the fruit of his toil to those who employ him: and to make mankind believe that his history was superior in this respect to all others, this author tells us, that the court of St. Petersbourg had sent him all the authentic papers necessary for such a work, which were to be preserved in the public library of Geneva. I own I could not help smiling on reading this well written history, for certainly there never was a work of this kind laid before the public that is so full of errors; and if we may depend upon his veracity with respect to those public papers which he pretends were transmitted to him from Russia, never was a writer so duped: in fact, this will always be the case when authors attempt to write histories of countries which they have never seen, and depend for the authenticity of their facts upon persons who may think that it is for their interest to deceive them.

Voltaire tells us likewise, that he has refuted the baron Norberg in the most important parts of his history, and left him to deceive himself with impunity in other less essential parts. On the contrary, I think myself obliged to do justice to this learned Danish historian: I have read his works with pleasure, because when I compared them with other authentic pieces in the king's library at Copenhagen, and with the general observations which I made in this country, I found them strictly conformable to them; and certainly if this author had written in a more general language, the world would be soon convinced that his writings are as much superior in every respect to those of Voltaire, as those of the latter are to the little pamphleteers who write for bread.

Many

Many other authors have likewise given detached pieces of the design which I have here proposed, of which I shall take notice in their proper places; but I have not heard of any author who has treated generally of this plan in any language, or reduced the matter comprehended in this work into so small a compass, and at the same time given a distinct idea of every part of it: hence therefore, as the present state of the North is so little known, it was apprehended that a brief history of it from observations made on the spot, and from the best and most authentic pieces that could be procured, would not be disagreeable to any of my readers; and though this extensive plan may not be executed with that elegance and propriety that could be wished, as my time has been too much occupied by other business, my readers may at least be assured that I shall present them with a faithful narrative of facts, which will I hope compensate for abundance of other literary imperfections, and may yield assistance in future to some abler writer to give a complete history of these regions. When a native or an enemy of any particular state attempts to write a history of such states, it may always be presumed that there will be partiality on the one side or on the other; but when a stranger, who is furnished with proper materials, undertakes such a task, there cannot be even a suspicion of such a transaction. One of the most delicate points in writing an exact and entertaining history is exhibiting a just character of those who act the principal parts in the government for which the history is composed; for as a painter by one touch of his pencil may totally change the resemblance of his portrait, so an historian by deviating in the least from facts, or even from candour in the manner of representing them, may change a character from good to bad.

Whenever therefore we find an historian attempting to give a particular account of the most minute transactions of a prince or of a minister

minister whom he has never seen, or perhaps from whom he has ever been removed hundreds and thousands of leagues, and even pretending to penetrate into their most secret affairs, we should always suspect him. In such cases we should endeavour to characterize a prince by his public actions, and leave those who have been some time about his person to develop the more minute parts of his private character.

That the reader may have the fullest security in the authenticity of the historical facts recorded in this work, it is proper, once for all, that he be informed of the sources from which they were originally derived.

In order to form a just idea of the rise and progress of the government in the Seven United Provinces, I consulted the history of the wars and revolutions of the Low Countries, written by the Cardinal Bentivoglio, as well as those which were written by Grotius, Strada, and others; but though they concurred in giving me an idea of the violences which were used by both parties, I soon found that there was no dependence to be placed upon either of them; the Protestant writers being no less disposed to disguise the truth, when it made against their party, than the Catholics; and if the Duke D'Alva, the Cardinal Gravall, and the new bishops which were elected in his time were violent in oppressing the Protestants, the latter were no less so in counselling the leaders of their party to revenge their cause upon all the Catholics who fell into their hands: so that, like a jurymen, I was obliged to form my judgment from the evidences of both parties. The history of the Stadtholders gave me some information respecting this matter.

For what regards the present state of Holland I am not indebted to any author, but much to the late Monsieur Meerman, whose candour
and

and great knowledge were equal to his liberal and communicative disposition: he was a phaenomenon in this country, and no man was better informed in what respected the laws and government of this state. I likewise received information from some of the members of the states of the different provinces, but it was thought necessary to corroborate the whole by my own observations. From the credit which I had with some of the members of the admiralty, I had the liberty to see every thing which regarded their marine in Holland and in Zealand, and even to receive every information I desired respecting the situation of it, as well as respecting the finances which are appropriated for its support.

I found it much more difficult at first to obtain a tolerable good account of the ancient state of Denmark, Norway, and Iceland; for though I had free access to the king's library at Copenhagen, I found the ancient history of this country so dark and unintelligible, and even its annals and the chronicles of Norway and Iceland so contrary to other authors, that I was really at a loss how to proceed, till I read the history of the late ingenious Baron de Holberg, written in the Danish language about thirty-five years ago, and the excellent notes of the late Mr. Gramm upon Meursius, when I perceived that very little credit was to be given to the Monkish compositions of those days, and that I was to confine my observations to those authors who had the most credit, and who appeared to be best informed: I therefore afterwards made the Chronicles of Iceland and of Norway, the works of Saxon the Grammarian, and the chronicles of the Chancellor Huitfield, who appears to have been extremely well informed of the ancient history of his country, my principal guides in this matter.

The extracts which I have made from the different codes of laws which have been heretofore established in this country, were made from the codes themselves, which are deposited in the king's library.

In what regards the present state of Denmark, I am much indebted to the late unfortunate Count Struensee, through whose interest I had free access to the public records, particularly to those which regarded the finances of the kingdom and its internal policy. My observations upon their marine and land forces were corroborated by at least twenty different informations; for, upon the whole, I found the Danes much more communicative and liberal in their manners than the Hollanders; and I flatter myself that I had the best information respecting the present state of this kingdom that could be obtained.

I had still more difficulty to digest the ancient state of Sweden into some order, than that of Denmark; there are very few records remaining of what passed in the early ages of this government; and afterwards, when the spirit of party ran high between the Danes and the Swedes, when the former were masters of this kingdom, and between the Lutherans and the Catholics, the principal transactions of the government of this kingdom are so differently recorded by the historians of the different parties, that I had the greatest difficulty to form any opinion on them till I had read with attention the Swedish, Danish, German, Catholic, and Protestant historians upon this subject, namely, Ericus Upsalienfis Chorographia Scandinaviæ, Adami Bremenfis Tumbæ Veterum apud Suecos Gothosque Regum, Exegesis de quinque Primariis Suecorum Gothorumque Antiquis Emporiis, Jacobus Zieglerus testis Oculatus Cædis Holmienfis,
Huitfield

Huitfield Annales Episcoporum Slevencensium, Theatrum Nobilitatis Suecanæ Messenii, Joannes Gothus Magnus, Olaus Magnus Pontanus, Saxo Grammaticus, Loccenius Schefferus, Chythræus, Bazius, Buræus, Vita Archiepisc. Upsalensium, Crantzius, Vastorius Meurfius, Scandia illustrata Messenii, Antiquitates Suecogothicæ Loccenii.

The accounts which I have given of the public revenues, trade, and internal policy of Sweden at present, are extracts from the public records, which I made at Stockholm during the diet of 1769 and 1770; and as I had a view of the whole kingdom as far north as Dalicaria, and conversed with all orders of men, I thought myself well informed in the present state of their affairs.

An historian has very little light whereby he can direct his course through the ancient history of Russia; and I must confess myself indebted to the late Mr. Michael Lomonosow's history of this country, written in the German language, and to some manuscripts in the Kremlin at Moscow, for the greatest part of what I have written upon this subject before the time of Peter the Great; but from that time to the present age I had matter sufficient to form my history, from the memoirs and manuscripts, written in German, to which I had access in the Kremlin. The observations which I have made upon the population and internal policy of Russia were formed from the intelligence which I received from the late chancellor, from count Ostermann, from general Stoffeln, one of the most intelligent men I met with in the Russian empire, and from some others of the senate, whose names it might not be proper to mention. The calculations I have made of their trade and finances are extracts from the custom-house books at
Petersbourg,

Petersbourg, and from those of the colleges of the finances; and as I travelled 1700 versets in the Russian dominions to form some idea of the character of the mass of the people in this state, I hope my observations upon that head will not be thought unjust or improper for history.

When I entered Poland I found myself entirely at a loss to obtain any proper information respecting the ancient history of this kingdom till I had access to the public library at Warsaw; but after I had read the histories of Stanislas Sarnicius, of John Krasinski, and of the archbishop Stanislas Kamkowski, I began to have some hopes of getting through this laborious task; and after having read the works of Owalkowski, especially what he has written upon the public laws of Poland, and Kochowski's history of John Casimir, I found the great difficulty in some measure vanished. Paul Potocki's history likewise gave me some information, as well as that of Andrew Maximilian Fredro, palatine of Podolia.

In the modern part of this history I was much assisted by the letters of the chancellor Andrew Zaluski, and by the works of Joseph Andrew Zaluski, bishop of Kiovia, who founded the public library at Warsaw. My remarks upon the present state of Poland are founded upon the information which I received from the family of Potocki, and from several of the Protestant families of that kingdom, and are authenticated by my own observations.

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H O L L A N D
THE
RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE
OF THE
NORTHERN GOVERNMENTS.

B O O K I.

Of the Constitution, Laws, Policy, Customs, Religion,
Commerce, Revenues, and Military Forces of the
United Provinces: With some Observations upon the
true Principles of Commerce.

C H A P. I.

*Of the Rise and Progress of the present Government in the
United Provinces.*

I N taking a view of the rise of this Republic, it will be necessary to trace it back as far as the Reformation which was effected in the Christian church, by the preaching of Luther, Calvin, and others; by whom the thick clouds of ignorance and superstition were dispelled in which all the inhabitants of Europe were in those days involved, by the most tyrannical, wicked, and debauched order of priests

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that ever disgraced human nature; from which æra we may date the origin of those commotions that happened in the states of Burgundy, under the government of the dukes of Parma, and the principal cause of that general revolt which happened during the duke d'Alva's administration.

Nothing affects the human species so much, especially the thinking part of them, as the idea of a supreme Being, and of a future existence, and therefore it was not surprizing that a great part of the inhabitants of this country were shocked, when they discovered in what manner they, and their ancestors, had been tyrannically conducted in a superstition which will always debase the soul, as much as true religion aggrandizes it; and that they made some resistance to their spiritual tyrants, and began to think for themselves. This the Roman Catholic clergy treated as heresy of the most dangerous nature, as tending to destroy all their power and authority, and therefore resolved to extirpate it at all events: hence the greatest part of the wars and bloodshed that have happened in Europe since those days, and particularly of all those scenes of horror which were exhibited in the Seven United Provinces, during the administration of the Spanish governors. There are likewise some other collateral causes which may be said to have occasioned the revolution which happened in the Seventeen Provinces; and, therefore, to develop this matter properly, it will be necessary to enquire into the nature of the ancient government, under which the inhabitants of those provinces lived, in subjection to their several princes, till they came to be united in the house of Burgundy, afterwards in that of Austria; and, lastly, in the person of the emperor Charles the Fifth,

Fifth, were incorporated with the vast hereditary dominions of Spain, Italy, the Indies, and part of Germany.

When the fury and numbers of the descendants of the ancient Scythians had, by several inundations, broken down the whole fabric of the Western Roman empire, which was extended as far as the Rhine, and had founded the several kingdoms and principalities which have ever since continued in the southern parts of Europe, that tract of land, which was usually called The Seventeen Provinces, were so wasted by the armies of this barbarous people, in their passage through it into the southern parts of Europe, that the majority of its inhabitants were obliged to seek a subsistence in other regions; and those few who remained, being secure of no part of the fruits of their industry, were reduced to seek the necessaries of life by hunting, and often by violence; so that the lands were uncultivated, and, in a certain space of time, either became forests or marshes; these being the two natural soils, even in the most temperate regions: in this state were the Low Countries for many ages before the time of Charlemagne, when the Franks, having conquered Gaul, and established a great kingdom of their own, began to correct the disorders of that country, and to form it into a civil government; to make distributions and divisions of jurisdictions and lands, by the bounty of the prince, or as rewards for the services of his chief followers and captains: to one of the first of these a great extent of this country was given, with the title of Forester of Flanders. This great office being hereditary, and continuing for several descents, began to civilize the country, by suppressing the violence of the bands of robbers, who infested the woods and strong places; and by encouraging the inhabitants to unite in civil societies, to support themselves by their industry, with respect to the neces-

aries of life; to conform to civil laws for protection; and to the conduct of their governors, and their own arms, for safety.

In this situation was Flanders in the time of Charlemagne, who changed the title of Forester into that of Count, and erected this tract of country into a county, but without changing or interrupting the succession. How far the jurisdiction of the Foresters extended, or what originally were the limits of this county cannot at present be accurately ascertained; but there is great reason to suppose that it included all the lower parts of the vast forest of Ardenne, which in those days extended as far as Aix la Chapelle, and even some leagues beyond it.

Holland, or, as it was formerly called, Batavia, was esteemed in those days rather a part of Germany than of Gaul, from its being first established by the Batti, a great and ancient people of Germany, who furnished a considerable number of auxiliary troops to the Romans, in their Gallic and British wars, and was always treated by those conquerors, rather as an allied, than as a subjected province. But there is great reason to suppose that this country changed, in a great measure, its inhabitants and customs, upon the inroads of the northern nations; but of the particulars of such revolutions we have no certain account.

In the year 859, a son of the Count of Frizeland, by a daughter of the emperor Lewis the Second, was by him created Count of Holland, and was the first of that title, which afterwards extended through a great many direct and collateral successions, and at last terminated in the person of Philip the Second, king of Spain, by the revolt of the United Provinces.

During

During the government of the Foresters, and afterwards of the Counts, who began to cultivate and civilize the country, and to increase the strength and opulence of their subjects, which they regarded as their own, many old and decayed castles were rebuilt, and new ones erected, which were given by those Forresters and Counts to their principal followers, with large tracts of land for their support, and an almost sovereign jurisdiction over the inhabitants, and this upon terms very easy, one of which was a personal attendance upon the prince at appointed times, for doing him honour in time of peace, and for serving him in war: a great number of those castles, with feudal, and even sovereign, jurisdiction, remain in the Low Countries to this day. Under the government of those Counts were likewise restored many ancient cities and towns, and some new ones were likewise founded; of which the former had their ancient privileges and jurisdictions renewed, and others occasionally annexed; and the latter had either the same privileges and jurisdictions granted to them as the others, or great and particular immunities and freedoms for the encouragement of strangers to come and settle in them: all these constitutions, agreeing in the essential parts, and differing only in form, according to the difference of the original or the several natures and interests of the princes under whose respective governments they were established, will at present be found in their full extent in many of the cities of the Low Countries.

Another and a very essential part of their government may be clearly deduced from the northern nations, whom the Romans, from the vastness of their multitudes, and their want of military discipline, called barbarous; but, if we may judge from their

their victories in obtaining new establishments, and regularity in possessing them, I think they may be allowed, in many respects, to be a better policed people than the Romans themselves. These people, wherever they migrated, and formed their colonies, left a constitution representing a limited monarchy, the ancient form of government among all the northern nations, and called, in many of the European languages, The States: this constitution consisted of three orders, noble, ecclesiastical, and popular, which were under the limited sovereignty of one person, who had the title of king, prince, duke, or count.

This was the species of government which prevailed in every part of Europe for several centuries after the destruction of the Western Roman empire, and which obtains in many parts of it to this day; and indeed there is great reason to suppose, was the first form of government that prevailed in the world after mankind formed themselves into civil societies; and continued so to do, till corruption, luxury, and ambition introduced the Asiatic tyranny.

It is true, the northern people were not Christians when they first invaded the Roman empire; but soon after a great body of the Goths, on occasion of a treaty with one of the Roman emperors, and upon his ceding a great tract of land for their subsistence, and to be a settlement for their nation, embraced at once the Christian religion: and this same people, after having violated the treaty, and passed the limits that had been assigned them, contributed greatly to propagate the Christian religion in several parts of Europe, where they extended their conquests; and by their great zeal, and the particular veneration they had for their bishops and priests, and being at the same time enriched by the spoils

spoils and possessions of such vast tracts of country, appear to have been the first who introduced the maintenance of the clergy and churches, by the endowments of lands, lordships, and vassals appropriated to them. For, before this period, the authority of the clergy consisted entirely in the peoples opinion of their piety, virtue, or learning, or in a particular reverence for their mystical ceremonies; and their support accrued from the voluntary oblations of pious people, from a certain share of the profits of the labours or gains of those who lived under their cure, or from the bounty of princes, and not from lordships and vassals, or from having any power over mens lives or fortunes, which belonged wholly to the civil jurisdiction: and those authors who speak of the great luxury of the bishops and clergy in the time of Valentinian, speak only of their riches, which occasioned it, as being accumulated entirely from the free gifts of the people. But the zealous devotion of these northern Christians, introducing this new form of endowing their churches, and of placing their bishops upon a level with princes and great lords; and afterwards Pepin and Charlemagne, upon their great victories in the southern parts of Europe, and the flattery lavished by the bishops of Rome on their title and arms, having granted considerable territories, and civil jurisdiction to that see; the example was followed by most of the princes of Europe, and brought to the clergy and religious houses great possessions of lands; and consequently, from the dependency of their subjects or vassals, a great share of the civil power, by which they came to be one of the orders that composed the States in every part of Europe.

This constitution of the States had been established in the several provinces of the Low Countries, from the time of their first admission of any civil government, after the destruction of the

the Western Roman empire; and they were not only assembled for deciding the disputes about the succession of their princes, when it was doubtful or contested; for raising a military force, for the defence of their country, when they waged war with their neighbours; for giving advice to their respective princes in times of danger; and for deciding those contests which often arose between the great towns; but also upon the new succession of a new prince; and for regulating any new taxes or impositions that were necessary to be laid on the people.

The inhabitants of those provinces regarded this assembly as the basis upon which their liberty was founded; and so tenacious were they of this power, that, even in their greatest troubles and persecutions, they would not suffer any thing to be concluded without the concurrence of the States. The rest of their liberties, except the ancient privileges of their great towns, which have been already mentioned, were concessions of their princes; particularly jurisdiction, in the choice and exercise of the magistracy and civil judicature within themselves, in exemptions or immunities, and in the custom of employing none but natives in all the great charges and offices of the state.

The revenues of their princes consisted in their ancient demesnes, and in customs, which, at first, were very small, but afterwards grew very considerable, by the flourishing state of trade in Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and the maritime towns, and in the voluntary contributions of the people, either through the assembly of the States, or in particular cities, according to the necessities of the prince, or in proportion as he was esteemed by the people.

The

The military forces of these princes were composed of such lords, who, by the offices which they held under the state, by their governments, or by the tenure of lands, were obliged to attend their prince on horseback with a certain number of their vassals in all his wars: moreover they had likewise a kind of militia, which were called in their language, Les gens d'Ordonnance, that served as infantry, but were only called out upon duty when the country was attacked. These forces were supported by the people, the others were raised by the lords when occasion required; but all were immediately discharged when the war, or danger, was over; and consequently were of very little expence to the prince, as his wars were waged only with other princes of nearly an equal force, who were competitors of his principality, or sometimes with the mutinies of his great towns, which were generally decided by one battle or siege; except when he entered into the quarrels between England and France; in these he was rather engaged as an auxiliary, or for making a diversion, than as a principal.

In this manner did the government of the Low Countries continue, in several principalities, till the time of Philip of Burgundy, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united: and by the union of this great extent of rich and populous country (for in those days Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent carried on a most extensive and lucrative commerce) both Philip and his son Charles found themselves a match for France, then indeed much weakened, not only by their wars with England, but by the factions of their princes. The house of Burgundy was almost constantly engaged in wars with France, during the government of Charles, and Maximilian of Austria, who married his daughter, the heiress of this house, and afterwards during

ring the government of the emperor Charles the Fifth, their grandson, with various successes, which have often been recorded in history. But Philip of Burgundy, who began these wars, was a wise and prudent prince, and concerted his measures so judiciously, that when he found the English greatness declining abroad, by their dissensions and civil wars at home, he concluded a safe and honourable peace with France, and made no pretence, from his extent of power, or his wars, to introduce any change in the ancient forms of his government. But his son Charles engaged more rashly in a contest against France and the Switzers, and began to demand large and frequent contributions of his subjects; which, being expended in an unfortunate war, rendered his people discontented, and himself disesteemed, till he ended his life at the battle of Nancy.

During the government of Maximilian a great body of German troops were brought into Flanders to defend this country against France; and during the reign of the emperor Charles the Fifth still greater bodies of Spaniards and Italians were brought thither upon the same occasion, a thing unknown in this region in the time of their former little princes. But as the whole course of the reign of this great prince was fortunate; and as, from his generous nature, he took every method to please and shew kindness to his subjects in the Low Countries, having been born among them, and employed all their great men in the principal offices of his court, his government, or his armies; and as his fame and his grandeur were continually increasing, he averted the discontents of his subjects in regard to the increase of their payments, or the grievance of so many foreign troops among them; so that he left the Seventeen Provinces to his son Philip the Second in as peaceable a condition as either prince or people could desire.

Philip

Philip coming so unexpectedly into the possession of such great and extensive dominions in the year 1556, immediately displayed the pride and haughtiness of his natural disposition: being a Spaniard by birth, and receiving his education in that country, the natural severity and gravity of the nation, together with a particular attachment to their manners and customs, he conferred all the offices of his house and the honour of his council and confidence upon his Spanish subjects, and thereby introduced their manners, customs, and language into the court of Flanders, which greatly disgusted the Flemings. However he had prudence enough to conclude a peace with France, in the war previous to which his father had been sometimes successful and at other times unsuccessful; and by the treaty of Cambray, he not only restored tranquillity in his own dominions, but likewise in the greatest part of Europe, which was more or less engaged in the quarrel of these two princes. After this he resolved to return into Spain and leave the Seventeen Provinces under a subordinate government, which, till his father's time, had always been the residence of their princes, and which had shared the presence of Charles the Fifth with the rest of his dominions: but he continued the Spanish and Italian forces after the peace, and demanded constant supplies from the States for their support. This act destroyed all the confidence which still subsisted between Philip and the inhabitants of these provinces, who began to shew their discontent, and to inveigh loudly against such a violation of their ancient form of government; but the proud Castilian thought it much beneath the grandeur of a prince who was already in the possession of such mighty dominions, and who had views of a still greater empire, to regard the grievances of so small a country, or to be controuled by their ancient form of government; and therefore when he relinquished this country to return into Spain, he appointed

the duchess of Parma, a natural daughter of the emperor Charles the Fifth, to be governess of these provinces, assisted by the ministry of cardinal Granvell, a man no less eminent for his great abilities than for his violent and infamous conduct, whom he instructed to continue the foreign troops, and to demand money of the States for their support; indeed this practice had, by the long course of the war, become customary among them, and the sums were only disputed between the prince and the States.

The doctrines of Luther and the other Reformers had now found their way into the Low Countries, and had gained many converts among the people; moreover great numbers of Lutherans from Germany during the persecutions in the different parts of that country, and many English during the persecutions of queen Mary, had taken refuge in the Low Countries, and the whole were become a very considerable body; so considerable indeed that they gave great uneasiness to the Pope, and to the Conclave, who, from a supposition that their craft was in danger, agreed with Philip the Second to establish fourteen new bishoprics in the Seventeen Provinces, there being only three there before this time, to publish the edicts of the emperor Charles the Fifth against Luther, which had been published in the diet of the empire in the year 1550, but were always eluded in the Low Countries, even in that emperor's time, and in fact to make way for the Inquisition, with all its sanguinary precepts, which was then received in Spain, for the institution of which the Moors there, and the Lutherans here, were equally made a specious pretext.

Of all the institutions that ever disgraced human nature that of the Inquisition was the most infamous; and surely, if there be a fiery punishment in another world, those who were the projectors

jectors of this tribunal, which has destroyed so many thousands of innocent people under the pretence of religion, will be plunged into the hottest part of it.

As soon as these things were avowed, and began to be executed in the Low Countries, all the Protestants, who were now become formidable, and who had hitherto behaved with great loyalty and fidelity to the established government, resolved to defend themselves by arms, regarding this persecution as calculated not to serve any purpose of religion, because the fundamental articles of faith were the same in both churches, but to gratify the revenge of a system of infamous priests. Moreover the insolence of the Spanish troops, and the charge of their subsistence, occasioned them to be regarded by the inhabitants of this country in general rather as the instruments of their oppression than of their defence, when they were at peace with all the powers of Europe: and therefore the States, with the general consent of the nobles and of the people, complained publicly to the governess; and when private measures were concerting to counteract their authority by the intrigues of Granvell, and delays contrived to retard the redressing of their grievances, the States refused to raise any more money either for the support of the Spanish troops or for their own standing army; and the people fell into such a state of despair, that in Holland and Zealand they absolutely gave over working at their dikes, and left the sea and the great rivers to gain upon the country; resolving, as they said, rather to be destroyed by the water than by the barbarity of the Spanish soldiers: however, after many intrigues and disputes agitated between the governess and the States, the king upon her repeated remonstrances was pleased to recall the troops, which occasioned great joy to all ranks of people.

The

The next contest arose from the establishment of fees for the fourteen new bishops; the nobles looked upon this act as calculated to lessen their power, by introducing so many new counsellors, as all the bishops had votes in the great council. The abbots, out of whose lands these bishops were to be paid, exclaimed loudly against it as a violent usurpation upon the rights of the church; but the common people, and particularly the Protestants, complained of it as a new species of oppression upon their consciences and natural liberties, by erecting so many new spiritual courts of judicature, and so great a number of judges who were dependent absolutely upon the Pope, their declared enemy; and in fact all ranks of men inveighed against it, as being a breach of the oath which the king took at his accession to the government, for preserving the church and the laws in the same state he found them: nevertheless the governors and Granvell carried this point with a high hand against all opposition, though not without leaving a general discontent and almost despair among the people.

In the midst of this scene of confusion in Flanders, the persecutions of the Calvinists in France drove great numbers of them into the Low Countries, so that these provinces in a very small space of time were filled with Protestants; and the commiseration of their sufferings, the good opinion of their doctrine and piety, and the admiration of their zeal, gained them daily many proselytes among all orders of men, but particularly among the citizens, whose trade and riches were considerably increased by these new inhabitants, and, as well as their doctrines, contributed much to gain them a favourable reception.

The

The rod of persecution, and the inquisitorial authority, were now exercised with the greatest rigour by Granvell, who strained his master's authority to the highest pitch, and upon all occasions executed his commands with severity; but these were, it is true, tempered at times by the prudence of the governors, and by the determined firmness of the lords, the latter taking every opportunity to protect the liberties of their country against this new and arbitrary judicature, so repugnant to the laws of nature, as well as unknown to all the antient laws and customs of the country, and for this reason not less odious to the people than for the refined cruelty of their execution.

This violent conduct of Granvell made him universally abhorred, but particularly by the chief lords of the country, among whom were the prince of Orange, the counts Horne and Egmont, the marquis of Berghen and Montigny; and at length all the great lords refused their attendance in council, protesting that they could not bear the sight of a man there who directed all the affairs of the State, and who was planning such measures as would destroy all the inhabitants, and make the whole country a desert. Soon after they petitioned the king, in the name of the whole country, for his removal, and upon the delay of it, and the continuance of the Inquisition, the whole body of the people, as well Catholics as Protestants, were enraged to such a degree as threatened a general revolt in the State whenever the least flame should break out in any part. However, upon the representation of the duchess of Parma as well as the instance of the provinces, the king at last consented to recall the cardinal; whereupon all the great lords reassumed their places in the council, and the count Egmont was deputed into Spain to lay the grievances of the provinces before the king, by whom
he

he was favourably received; and as all the edicts about the Inquisition and Religion were remitted, and all the discontents and tumults among the people were appeased: the governess took the opinion of the lords in the conducting of all the public affairs, and was obeyed and respected by the latter for her prudence and moderation; and there is the greatest probability that all those differences would have been agreeably adjusted if the duchess of Parma had been suffered to direct the affairs of those provinces; but a storm now arose which introduced fire and sword into this country, and indeed into many other parts of Europe.

When the cardinal Granvell retired into Spain, and made a report to the king of the progress of Protestantism in the Low Countries, even against all the persecution and oppression of the Inquisition, Philip was extremely troubled at it, and repented of the lenity which he had shewn; and as the Protestants were making likewise a great progress in France, in the beginning of the year 1565 there was a conference held at Bayonne between Catherine the queen mother of France and her son Charles the Ninth, with his sister Isabella queen of Spain; the king of Spain excused his own presence, but deputed the duke d'Alva in his place, and thereby made this interview pass for an effect of kindness between the mother and her children: indeed the Spanish and Italian writers positively affirm this to have been the cause of this conference; but the prince of Orange declares to have by accident discovered that the extirpation of all the Protestant families in the French and Spanish dominions was here agreed on, with the mutual assistance of the two crowns; and if we may judge from the effects, the prince's assertion was strictly true; for immediately after this interview the duchess of Parma received letters from the king of Spain, which disclaimed the interpretation

terpretation he had given to his edicts by count Egmont, and declared that his will was, that all Heretics should be punished with death; that the edicts of the emperor Charles the Fifth and of the council of Trent should be immediately published and observed, and that the utmost assistance of the Civil Power should be given to the Inquisition: moreover, soon after this time, the massacre of the Protestants at Paris was planned and executed, and such a scene of horror exhibited as would have shocked even Nero or Dioclesian.

When these letters were first published in these province all ranks of men were struck with astonishment, but this soon gave place to rage and fury which appeared in their looks, in their speeches, and even in their bold assemblies, and were soon after increased by the miserable spectacles of so many inquisitorial executions on account of religion; but the constancy and resolution of the sufferers were so great that they drew the compassion and admiration of all the beholders, who meditated revenge against the authors of that tribunal, of whom the cardinal Glanvell and the duke d'Alva were esteemed the chiefs.

In the month of February 1566, the citizens in many of the great towns broke out into an open mutiny, rescued those poor unhappy wretches who were condemned by the Inquisition to be executed, and delivered all who were confined in prisons on account of religion; and this was soon after followed by a confederacy of the lords, who resolved never to suffer the Inquisition to be erected in the Low Countries, as being a species of tyranny that would have disgraced the most barbarous government, and being contrary to all laws both sacred and prophane; moreover one of the confederate lords, at the head of a great body of

landholders, came to Brussels, and in bold terms petitioned the governors to abolish the Inquisition and all the edicts about religion, and requested that new ones should be formed according to the ancient constitution of the government by a convention of the States; upon which all resolutions of force and violence grew unsafe for government to adopt, as it was not at this time in a situation to resist such a revolution of the people.

The governors therefore behaved with her usual prudence, received their petition without the least shew of that resentment she had at heart, and promised to represent their petition to the king, which she accordingly performed. Philip was extremely surprized that his late commands were attended with such consequences, and was at length obliged to recall them; but whether from the slow forms of the Spanish court, or whether from delays calculated for that purpose, his answer arrived too late; and as the former concessions of this prince, either from the testimonies of ill will in them or from a particular delay with which they were always attended, had lost all the good effects which they were calculated to produce; in like manner this was absolutely the case with this, which came into the Low Countries when the flame was kindled by an insurrection of all the lower classes of people in Holland, Flanders, and Utrecht, who began with a brutal fury to destroy the images and other ornaments of the churches, with public confederacies and private contributions for the support of the common cause, and with the institutions of magistrates and consistories in each town among those of the reformed religion; from hence we may date the general revolt of the Low Countries in the year 1566.

However all the great lords and the richest of the citizens, although extremely discontented and dissatisfied with the late violences which had been offered to their ancient form of government, abhorred the rage and violence of these popular insurrections, regarding them as the greatest evil that can befall any government, and encouraged by the arrival of the king's concessions, employed themselves with great vigour and loyalty to suppress these tumults, and joined their forces and councils with those of the governors for this purpose, in which the prince of Orange and the count of Egmont had a principal share, the former as being governor of Holland and Zealand, and the latter as being governor of Flanders; but more so from the good opinion which the people entertained of the honour and probity of these lords.

At length the prince foreseeing the storm which was ready to break upon their heads, and hearing of the great preparations that were making for the king of Spain's journey into the Low Countries, retired into Germany; and the count of Egmont, after the reducing of Valenciennes, Antwerp, Maestricht, and other towns, withdrew himself from the councils of the Confederate Lords; and as the duchess governed in the present circumstances with all the prudence and moderation possible, all the provinces were again restored to peace and obedience, or at least to the appearance of having a perfect approbation of her good conduct.

But Philip, whether ever he intended this journey into Flanders, or thinking it unnecessary since peace was again restored in the provinces, which is most probably the case, or finding that what had been concerted at Bayonne was now ripe for execution in France, resigned all thoughts of visiting the Low Countries;

Countries; but at the same time resolved upon sending the duke d'Alva thither with an army of 10,000 Spanish and Italian troops to assist the governors in carrying all the laws of the Inquisition into execution, and to punish all who had been the authors or fomenters of the late seditions and insurrections.

Vehement remonstrances were made against this measure by the duchess of Parma, who observed that the present peace of the provinces ought not to be violated by new measures, nor a minister employed there who was so extremely violent, and who professedly hated, and was hated by, the provinces, as the duke d'Alva was in the Low Countries: the duke of Feria likewise, one of the principal ministers in Spain, gave his opinion to the king much to the same purpose, and added, that it was greatly lessening the royal authority by being made a party in a war upon his subjects: but Philip was immovable; so that in the year 1567 the duke d'Alva arrived in Flanders with an army of veteran Spanish and Italian soldiers, which, joined to 2000 German troops which the duchess of Parma had raised in the last insurrection, constituted a force which nothing in those provinces could equal, so that astonishment or despair was painted in the countenances of all orders of men: even when the first report of this expedition arrived in the Low Countries, great numbers of citizens from Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, and all the great trading towns retired with all their effects to Amsterdam, then only a little fishing town, which was almost inaccessible by the marshes, and to other places of the like condition in Holland, and resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity; others retired into England and into those parts of Germany where the Protestant Religion was established; so that, as the governors informed the king, in a few days above 100,000 people had left the country, with all their effects, and more were following them daily.

The

The duke d'Alva was no sooner arrived in the Low Countries than he seized upon the counts Egmont and Horne; and as the marquis of Montigny had been imprisoned in Spain, whither some months before he had been deputed with a commission and instructions from the governors, she desired leave of the king to resign her government, and to retire out of these provinces; this request was readily obtained, and the duke d'Alva succeeded her in the government, and was invested with all the authority both of a civil and military governor, from whose decisions there was no appeal: he had likewise a council of twelve erected to take cognizance of all such crimes as were supposed to be committed against the king's authority. Such a scene of blood and horror now opened as would have astonished the most barbarous of the Roman emperors, or even sultan Bajazet himself; great numbers of people were condemned and executed by the sentence of this council on account of the late insurrections, many of whom were not at all concerned in them, and had used their utmost endeavours to suppress them; and many more by the tribunal of the inquisition, because they thought themselves obliged to worship the Deity according to the dictates of their consciences, both were much against the parting advice of the duchess of Parma, and the voice of the whole body of the people.

The cities remonstrated against the violation of their charters, and the people in general exclaimed loudly against the incroachments that were made upon their liberties by these illegal and iniquitous courts of judicature; they all complained to the king of the neglect of the States, and of the introduction of foreign troops, but in vain: Philip was constant to what he had determined; the new governor was cruel, blood-thirsty, and inexorable by nature; and the army were fierce and desired nothing so much as action, although

although it was to destroy their fellow subjects: on the other hand the people were enraged to the last degree, but were impressed with awe and without a leader: nothing was now heard but stories of confiscations, imprisonment, executions, blood, horror, and meditated revenge.

The counts of Egmont and Horne were condemned and publicly executed at Brussels, notwithstanding the most powerful intercessions in their favour both in Spain and in Flanders; all their past services, and even all the efforts which they had made to quiet the late insurrections, were interpreted as so many aggravations of their guilt; but this stroke seemed to destroy all patience in the people, and their deaths may be justly said to be one of the chief causes of that determined revolt which cost Spain so much blood and treasure, and a great part of the Low Countries.

Soon afterwards the prince of Orange, who was retired into Germany, was summoned to appear and take his trial for the same crimes of which the counts Egmont and Horne had been accused, and for which they were executed; and upon his not appearing he was proclaimed a traitor, and his whole estate, which was very considerable in the Seventeen Provinces, was confiscated. The prince, enraged at being treated in this manner while he was enjoying himself among his friends without any hostile intentions, threw off all obedience to the governor, made an alliance with several of the princes of Germany, and levied forces, which were joined by great numbers of people who flocked to him out of the Seventeen Provinces, all enraged at Alva's cruel and arbitrary government, and resolved to revenge the death of the count Egmont, whose gentle and generous disposition and good
conduct

conduct had made him the darling of the people. With these forces, and the succours which he received from the Protestants of France, then in arms under the command of the prince of Condé, the prince of Orange entered Frizeland and attacked some parts of Brabant; but by the good discipline and conduct of Alva, and the valour of his army, being prevented from taking any town or fortrefs in Brabant, which both parties knew would shake the fidelity of all the provinces, he was at last obliged to disband the greatest part of his army, and to retire again into Germany.

Upon this the Spanish governor returned in triumph to Brussels, and caused his statue to be cast in brass, and to be erected in the citadel he had built at Antwerp, on account of his subjecting that rich and mutinous town; and at the same time he insulted and trod upon two smaller statues that represented the two states of the provinces; this latter act of the governor raised the indignation of the people of these provinces more than any other, for all ranks of men were interested in these transactions; the dispute was no longer on matters of religion, they saw that this man's ostentation was not without reason, and that all their ancient liberties and privileges, the inheritances of so many centuries, were now prostrate before the sword of him who had always been the declared enemy of their country: but Alva was not a man to be terrified with the menaces of a rude, undisciplined, and unarmed people; for supposing that his will was the supreme law in this country, told the people that his victorious troops must have greater pay, and therefore, besides the sums that were annually granted upon the request of the king by the states of the provinces, he demanded a general tax of the one hundredth part of all the property in the Low Countries, to be raised at once, as a gratification for
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the army ; and for the future the twentieth of all immoveables, and the tenth of every thing that was sold or transferred : this was highly disgusting to the States, however after much debate they consented to the first, as a thing which terminated immediately, but absolutely refused the other two, alledging not only the poverty of the provinces and the ruin of trade, but that the late emigrations had drained the country of the greatest part of her species : however as the duke still persisted in his demand, they sent deputies into Spain and petitioned the king to redress their grievances, but without any success ; on which the governor, impatient of all further delay, ordered the edict to be published at Brussels without the consent of the States.

The people now felt the full weight of their misery, for upon their refusal to comply with such unjust and illegal measures the soldiers began to levy contributions by force ; all the citizens now shut up their shops, and the farmers ceased to come to market, so that the people of the town had neither bread nor meat to eat. The duke, enraged to the last degree, called all the soldiers to arms, and ordered that several of the principal inhabitants who had refused the payments should be hanged that very night upon their sign-posts ; but nothing could move the obstinacy of the people, and now, when the guards and executioners were ready to open this tragical scene, intelligence arrived that a party of the prince of Orange's forces had taken the Briel, and that the whole province of Holland was ready to revolt.

This remarkable and unexpected blow struck the governor with the greatest surprize, not only as he knew that the whole Seventeen Provinces were ready to revolt, and only wanted such an occasion to shew themselves in arms, but as this new enemy
had

had broken in upon him from the sea, he was entirely unacquainted with the nature and strength of their forces, as well as with their real designs, and therefore he thought it most prudent to suspend the tragedy in Brabant, and employ every measure to suppress this dangerous enemy before he had gained too firm a footing.

After the attempt of the prince of Orange had proved without success, and he was forced back into Germany, the count of Marke, who was a declared enemy of the Spanish government as well as of the governor, with a party of the prince's broken troops which had been left together in Frizeland, manned out some ships of small force, and, with commissions from the prince of Orange, betook themselves to sea, declared war against the Spaniards, and took all the vessels they could master which belonged to that nation; so that at length having gained considerable riches, as they sold their prizes in England and in other foreign parts, and their forces were augmented, they landed in the island of the Briel, assaulted and carried the town, pulled down the images and other ornaments of the churches, professed openly their religion, declared against the tyranny of the Spanish government and against the cruelty of the governor; and their example was immediately followed by most of the towns in Holland, Zealand, and West Frizeland, where the inhabitants drove out the Spanish garrisons, renounced their obedience to the king, and swore fidelity to the prince of Orange.

The prince seizing this opportunity when the people were agitated with such a fury, returned again into the Low Countries with new forces, and not contenting himself with Frizeland, Holland, and Zealand, marched into the heart of the provinces, seized

upon Mechlin and several other towns within a few leagues of Brussels, effecting this with such a general consent and applause, and with such a concourse of people, that the Spanish government would have been totally destroyed in the Low Countries, if it had not been revived by the massacre of all the Protestants at Paris, which was concerted between the queen mother and her dutiful children at the conference which was held at Bayonne.

This was joyful news to the Spaniards who had been accustomed to exercise their power in this manner both in Europe and America for some time before, but it was a thunder-stroke to the prince of Orange and his party; so that the former collected forces enough to defend the heart of the provinces, and the latter retired into Holland, resolving to defend himself there to the last extremity.

The greatest part of this province was strong by its nature, inaccessible by its marshes and waters, and the country was inhabited at that time by a rougher sort of people, who were not yet softened by commerce and riches, nor enured to taxes, but were obstinate defenders of their liberties, and were now become implacable haters of the Spanish government, having in general embraced the Protestant religion; but all these dispositions were considerably increased in the war that followed under the conduct of the duke d'Alva or his sons, by the inhuman butchery which they practised on the taking of Naerden, where great numbers of innocent persons of both sexes were slaughtered, where the houses were burnt, and the walls levelled to the ground; by the acts of barbarity which they exercised during the siege, and after the taking of Haarlem, where all kinds of cruelty and scorn were indeed practised on both sides, but begun by the duke
d'Alva's

d'Alva's army, who, though the inhabitants of the town made the most gallant defence for ten months, hanged up all the Burghers who fell into their hands in fight of the besieged; and the latter, in turn, hanged up all the Spanish prisoners whom they took in fight of the besiegers: the women lifted themselves in companies, gave alarms, beat up the enemy's quarters, and repaired the breaches which were made by the duke's cannon; till being famished with hunger they were obliged to surrender, when 400 of the Burghers were massacred in cold blood. Such was the Spanish method of waging war in those days! but this army was so roughly handled, that the duke was forced to rise from before Alcmaar after a long and fierce siege, which inspirited all the Protestant party.

Whereupon Philip, growing sensible of danger, and apprehensive of the total defection of the Seventeen Provinces (as the violence of Alva's proceedings had exasperated the people to such a degree against the Spanish name and government that they were never afterwards reconciled) resolved to recall the duke, and the war was carried on under the direction of Requesenes, who soon afterwards began the siege of Leyden, which was pursued with great violence for some time; but at length the farmers opened the sluices and drowned the country, resolving to destroy the Spaniards, although they suffered considerably by it; indeed they obtained their pursuit, for the whole Spanish army was near being destroyed by this means, which gave a signal turn to the affairs of Holland, which was likewise increased by the sudden death of Requesenes; and the king not declaring immediately a successor, the government of the provinces, by the ancient custom of the country, devolved in the interim upon the great council, which lasted some time by the delay of don John of Austria's

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coming

coming into the provinces, whom the king had declared the new governor. During this interval, the prince of Orange's party, who were closely pursued by Alva, not only gained time to fortify themselves, but as the great council and the states employed no method to pay the Spanish troops, the latter were obliged to retire into Brabant; where, mutinying for want of their pay, they seized Alost, a little town between Ghent and Brussels, which so incensed the people, that the tradesmen shut up their shops, and the countrymen abandoned their work, and all ran to arms.

In Brussels the inhabitants forced the senate, expelled those senators whom they knew were disposed to favour the Spaniards, killed all of that nation whom they met in the streets, and in general cried out for the expulsion of foreigners out of the Low Countries, and for the assembling of the States; to which the council was forced to consent.

At the same time the principal persons of all the provinces entered into a confederacy with the prince of Orange to carry on all the affairs of the war and of treaties, in concert and by the same councils; so that soon afterwards, when the States convened at Ghent, they agreed unanimously upon the act which was passed in the year 1576, and called The Pacification of Ghent, the principal articles of which were; that all the foreign soldiers should be expelled the provinces; that the ancient forms of government should be restored; that the matters which concerned religion in each province should be referred to the provincial states, and that, for the performance of these articles, all the provinces should for ever be confederated with those of Holland and Zealand.

The Spanish and Italian troops refusing to depart in consequence of this act were declared rebels, and they in turn forced and plundered several towns, and defended themselves in strong holds against the forces of the States, till don John arrived at Luxemburg, the only town in all the provinces where he thought himself safe, as not being involved in the defection of the rest.

The States having carried things to such an extremity, and having in a great measure obtained their ends, refused to admit this new governor, unless he accepted and confirmed the pacification of Ghent, with which, after he had obtained leave from the king, he at length complied, and entered upon his government with dismissing all the Spanish and Italian troops, which returned into Spain and Italy.

But soon afterwards this haughty governor, chagrined at seeing himself at the mercy of those whom he deemed rebels, on a sudden seized upon the castle of Namur, at this time one of the strongest fortresses in the Seventeen Provinces.

Alarmed at this violent proceeding, the States of the provinces again renounced their obedience to the Spanish government, and called the prince of Orange to Brussels, where he was appointed protector of Brabant by the states of that province; and now both parties prepared themselves for the war: Spain drew all her forces together into Namur and Luxemburg, the only provinces which were at this time under her subjection; all the other provinces agreed to elect a governor of their own, and deputed messengers to the emperor's brother to offer him that great charge.

Whenever

Whenever there is a confederacy of people of different principles and interests, it rarely or ever produces any good effects; this was the case in the confederacy abovementioned: the duke of Areschot, and several of the great lords of the Roman Catholic religion, although harmonizing with the rest in their hatred of the tyranny of the Spanish government, and in the defence of their laws and liberties, yet were not at all inclined to change their old and established religion, or to shake off their allegiance to their prince: moreover they were the more averse to a general defection from an envy of the prince of Orange's greatness, who had now gradually obtained all the influence, and in fact the direction of the counsels of the league.

It was by the assistance of these lords and their party, that after the death of don John, the duke of Parma, who succeeded him, gained strength and reputation immediately upon his coming into this country, which enabled him to open that great scene of victory which signalized his government, and which was the cause of the reduction of several of the provinces to the subjection of the crown of Spain,

Upon the augmentation of this party, which were then supposed to be pursuing a middle and dangerous scheme, and in contradistinction to them, all the northern provinces in the year 1579 meeting, by their deputies, at Utrecht, agreed upon and formed that act or alliance which hath ever after been called The Union of Utrecht, and was the original constitution of that form of government which has since prevailed in the United Provinces.

This

This act was founded upon the violation of the pacification of Ghent by the Spaniards, and the new invasion of some towns in Guelderland, and was not intended to annul any part of the said pacification, nor to divide these provinces from the generality, but to strengthen and prosecute the ends of this pacification by more united and vigorous counsels and arms.

The principal articles of this act of Union are as follows: the states of the Seven Provinces agree to unite themselves in such a manner as if they were but one province, and in such a manner that they shall never be divided by exchange, donation, sale, testament, or agreement; reserving nevertheless to each particular province and city all their respective privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; in judging of which, or any differences which may arise between any of the provinces or cities, the others shall not intermeddle, further than only endeavouring to procure an amicable agreement.

The States, in the name of all their constituents, bind themselves to assist one another with their lives and fortunes against any attack or assault that shall be made upon any of them, whether on pretence of sovereignty, of restoring the Roman Catholic Religion, or any other cause whatever: all the frontier towns and fortresses belonging to the union, if old, are to be fortified at the expence of the province in which they are situated; but if it be thought proper that any new ones should be erected, the charges are to be defrayed by the generality: all taxes and customs are to be disposed of every three months to the highest bidder; and, together with all the other revenues of the state, are to be employed for the common defence: all the men from 18 to 60 years old are to be enlisted and disciplined

ciplined within a month: peace or war are not to be declared without the concurrence of all the provinces: other cases that concern the management of both are to be determined by plurality of voices: all little differences that shall arise between the provinces are to be submitted to the stadtholders.

With respect to religion, the provinces of Holland and Zealand are to act as they shall think proper; the other provinces likewise may regulate themselves as they shall judge to be most conducive to the peace and welfare of their respective inhabitants, provided that every person shall remain free in his religion, and no man be examined or entrapped on that account, according to the pacification of Ghent.

Neighbouring princes, lords, or cities may be admitted into the union, by the consent of the provinces. In case of any dissension or differences between provinces, if it shall concern only one in particular, it shall be accommodated by the others; if it shall concern all in general, by the stadtholders: but in both cases sentence is to be pronounced within a month, and without any appeal or revision. The States of the respective provinces are to be held according to ancient usage; and the mint shall be regulated as shall be hereafter agreed upon by all the provinces. The interpretation of these articles to remain in the States; but if they shall not agree in their decision, in the stadtholders. The States bind themselves to apprehend and imprison any person or persons who shall act contrary to these articles, in which case no privilege nor exemption of what nature soever shall be valid.

This

This act was signed by the deputies of the States Jan. 23, 1759, but not by the prince of Orange till the May following, and then with a particular reservation, that by this act the authority and superiority of the archduke Mathias, the emperor's brother, who had been invited to be their governor general, should not be lessened.

In the same year this act of Union was likewise signed by the cities of Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, Breda, Nimeguen, Arnheim, and several other places of lesser note, and by several of the nobles of Frizeland. And thus a commonwealth was formed in the midst of the Spanish dominions, but in such a low and precarious state of things by reason of the different affections of men's minds, of the particular interests of the several parties, especially in the other provinces, and of the great power and preparations of the Spanish monarchy to oppress them, that on the first money they coined they caused a ship to be stamped, that was buffeted by the waves, without sails or oars, with the following legend, *Incertum quo fata ferant*.

But the odium of the Spanish tyranny and oppression was so inveterate and universal, that it made the revolt general through all the provinces, and through all religions, and orders of men, as appeared by the pacification of Ghent; till by the intrigues of the duke of Areschot's party, by the great powers of the Spanish monarchy, and by the matchless conduct and great valour of the duke of Parma, Brabant and Flanders, with the rest of the Ten Provinces, were reduced again under the Spanish dominion.

After which, the most violent of the antimonarchical party, being expelled by the Spanish arms, or allured by the

hopes of liberty and freedom into the Seven United Provinces, the hatred of the Spanish government increased to that degree, that they were not only prompt to submit to any new dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could not find any protector, and their affairs grew desperate, it was proposed in their assemblies to burn all their great towns, to depopulate and lay under water all that they could of their own country, and to seek some new establishment in the Indies; which they would certainly have executed, if they could have found shipping enough to transport all their numbers, and had not been detained by a compassionate regard for those whom they must have left behind to the mercy of an incensed and victorious tyrant.

When don John rejected the conditions he first had accepted, which are specified in the pacification of Ghent, and, by the surprize of Namur, broke into arms, the States of the provinces, as I have already observed, offered the government of their country to the arch-duke Mathias, the emperor's brother, as a conciliatory plan between their return to the obedience of Spain and the Republican government which was forming in the Seven Provinces. But the arch-duke arriving without the support or advice of the emperor, or any credit in the provinces, and having the prince of Orange for his lieutenant-general, he was regarded only as an insignificant cypher, and his government only as a piece of pageantry, which produced very little effect, and was soon terminated; and the more especially as he had not abilities to undertake any great enterprize.

On the other hand, the prince of Orange was a man calculated to give spirit to such an undertaking, as he had equal capacity

city for the cabinet and for the field; was cautious and resolute, courteous and severe; giving way on particular occasions to the humours of different people, and yet constant to the object he had in view: he had great revenues and great interest in the Seventeen Provinces; great credit and several alliances in Germany; was esteemed and honoured abroad, beloved and almost adored by the people at home, who thought him a true patriot, sincere in his professions and designs, able and willing to defend their liberties, and incapable of invading them through his own ambition; so that the people had hitherto looked upon him as their only support.

But when the duke of Parma came to assume the government, some new protection was necessary to defend this infant state against the storm with which it was threatened by the return of the Spanish and Italian forces, and the great army that was forming under the duke of Parma in Namur and Luxemburg.

There was at this time at least an appearance of peace between king Philip and queen Elizabeth of England, and ever since the conference of Bayonne between the queen mother of France and her children, the two crowns had concurred heartily in the common desire there agreed upon, of violently destroying all whom the humane priesthood of those days denominated heretics in both their dominions; so that Philip had no war upon his hands in Europe during these troubles in the Low Countries; but the boldness and intrepidity of the confederates, at the time of their first defection and union, seemed to be much greater than the success of their opposition afterwards, when many causes united to weaken and divert the Spanish forces.

When Henry the Third came to the crown of France, he was at first only controuled and fettered by the party of the Guises, but afterwards he was engaged in an open war which they raised against him, under the pretence of preserving the Roman Catholic Religion, in which they were openly supported by the court of Spain; and, by being compelled into an agreement by the Protestants of his kingdom, fell into such misunderstanding with king Philip, that when queen Elizabeth refused to undertake openly the protection of the United Provinces, the States applied to the court of France for this purpose; and by the consent of king Henry, his brother the duke d'Alençon was declared governor and protector of these provinces. But this prince, when he entered upon his government, behaved himself in such a haughty and violent manner, that his short reign was one continued scene of animosities and disagreements between the French and the Flemings; and as an attempt was made during this interval upon the prince of Orange's life, by a Spaniard, in which he was wounded, though not mortally, in the head, the Flemings began to be highly displeased with their new governor; and the latter attempting to make himself by force absolute master of the city of Antwerp, was expelled the town, on which he withdrew himself out of the country extremely displeased with the Flemings, who, in turn, were no less shocked at the violence and ill behaviour of the French.

Soon after this time the prince of Orange was assassinated at Delph: Philip finding he could not subdue him by force of arms, was determined to destroy him by such means as would have disgraced the meanest of the human species.

This

This was a terrible blow to the United Provinces, and as the duke of Parma was increasing daily in reputation and force, and was joined by the party of the duke of Areschot, most people imagined that these provinces would be very soon reduced to their obedience; but their hatred to Spanish government had taken too firm a root to be so easily shaken.

After the unhappy affair of the duke d'Alençon, these provinces in the year 1583 re-assumed their union, and bound themselves in such a manner, that in case of the fury of the war any point of it had not been properly observed, from that time it should be duly effected, and any difficulties composed and adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties.

Moreover, as the Roman Catholic Religion was then used in all the provinces, except Holland and Zealand, the article which concerned religion, in the act of union, was formed accordingly; but now it was agreed by all the provinces, that from this time the Evangelical Reformed Religion, as it was called in those days, should alone be openly preached and exercised in all the places under their power.

The States were so far from being intimidated in their designs by the prince of Orange's death, that their rage was rather exasperated by it, seeing the acts of villainy and oppression which the court of Spain was daily exercising; and paying all the honours they could to the memory of a man who had thus stood forth in defence of their liberties and privileges, they substituted prince Maurice his son, although but 16 years of age, in all his honours and commands, and absolutely refused all the overtures of peace which were proposed them by order of the

Spanish court, resolving upon the most desperate actions and sufferings rather than return again under the dominion of Spain.

Besides they began now to receive some hopes, and even assistance from England; for although Elizabeth and Philip still preserved the name of peace, yet the effects as well as the dispositions of it were entirely obliterated: Philip fomented and even assisted the insurrections of the Irish, though not openly, yet by volunteers and money; and Elizabeth, on the other hand, supported the New Commonwealth of the Low Countries by the same means.

Philip had likewise added Portugal to his empire after the death of king Sebastian in Africa; but this acquisition was rather a decrease of his power, as this People, who were extremely discontented likewise with the Spanish government, could not be treated like good subjects and governed without an army, nor like a conquered people, and consequently made to bear the expence of their forced obedience.

But however this addition, with the immense treasures which flowed in every year out of the Indies, elevated the ambition of Philip to that degree as made him aspire to universal empire; he protected openly the league in France against Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth; received the donation which the pious pope made him of the kingdom of Ireland; and at length resolved upon the conquest of England likewise; although a handful of his own subjects in the Low Countries had formerly baffled his whole force, and were now actually bidding him defiance.

Thus

Thus were the forces and attention of the court of Spain extremely divided, a circumstance which might have made much in favour of the United Provinces; but it can hardly be conceived how much the fortune and good conduct of a great general will influence the affairs of any state.

When the duke of Parma came to the government of the Low Countries, he found only two small provinces obedient to the Spanish government, all the others were confederated against him, both England and France beginning to take an open part in their defence; moreover, the few broken troops of the country which were left him by don John were in the greatest disorder; yet, by the dint of his own intrepidity and good conduct, he collected an army from Spain, Italy, and Germany to join the handful of troops left him in the Low Countries; and by the good discipline of this army, with his own disinterestedness and generous conduct, he gained equally upon the hearts and arms of his enemies in the revolted provinces, and penetrated through them with such an uninterrupted torrent of successes, that he very soon recovered most of the important towns in Brabant and Flanders; at last, by taking the towns of Antwerp and Groningen, he reduced the affairs of the United Provinces so low, that they threw themselves wholly at the feet of queen Elizabeth, implored her protection, and even offered her the sovereignty of their country. The latter the queen generously refused, but immediately entered into articles with the deputies of the States, and obliged herself to furnish them with very great supplies of men and money, upon the security of the Briel, Flushing, and Ramekins; and in the year 1585 Sir John Norris was sent over to command her forces.

In

In the year 1587 the war broke out between England and Spain, when, notwithstanding the mighty menaces of the Spanish Invincible Armada, she sent over greater forces under the command of the earl of Leicester, whom the States admitted, and swore obedience to him as governor of the United Provinces. But Leicester's government was not of any long duration, owing to the jealousy which arose between him and the States, from his haughty conduct, from his affecting an absolute dominion, from his arbitrary disposal of all offices, and from an easy loss of some of their towns, as it was pretended, through the fault of the governors who were placed in them by the earl of Leicester.

Sir William Temple and others are of opinion, that this disagreement was chiefly occasioned by the queen's intentions to make peace with Spain; but, I think, this does not at all appear to be the case, as the queen disapproved of Leicester's conduct, and commanded him to resign his government; and moreover re-affured the States of her good-will and sincere intentions to assist them; while they, on the other hand, gave her such prompt and generous assistances in her naval preparations against the Spaniards, that it cannot be supposed they had ever entertained such an idea of her intentions.

The queen continued her protection and assistance to the States during the whole course of her reign; which, on their part, were returned with such a veneration and deference to her person as were never paid to the sovereign of any foreign kingdom; her name is mentioned with admiration and respect by all ranks of people in these provinces even to this day.

After

After the departure of the earl of Leicester, the young prince Maurice of Orange was chosen their governor by the consent of the States, but with a reservation to queen Elizabeth ; and, in the execution of that command, proved himself to be no way inferior to his father as a general ; for the forces of the States were never in such good order and discipline as they were during his government ; the method he used to fortify towns and citadels was superior to any at that time employed in Europe, and has since been imitated by most other powers.

But what contributed the most to revive the affairs of the United Provinces, and to weaken the forces of king Philip, was the war which was made by Elizabeth upon the Spaniards in the West Indies, and the expeditions to Lisbon and to Cadiz, as well as the success of the arms of Henry the Fourth in France ; for Philip was so passionately bent upon supporting the league in this kingdom, that he twice ordered the duke of Parma to interrupt the course of his victories in the Low Provinces, and to march directly into the heart of it, to relieve Paris and Rouen, which greatly prejudiced the state of the Spanish affairs in Flanders ; for, during the duke of Parma's absence, the prince of Orange retook and fortified all the places that were held by the Spaniards on the other side of the Rhine, which opened to them a Passage into the Seven Provinces.

Another great check to the designs of the court of Spain was the accession of Henry the Fourth to the crown of France ; and a still greater was the general acknowledgment of him upon his embracing the Roman Catholic religion : the States of the provinces entered into an amicable league with Henry, and he possessed their confidence the more as he was on

good terms with Elizabeth, on whom was their dependence during her life; after her demise Henry gradually obtained great credit in the United Provinces, till the Spanish power began to decay by the increasing grandeur of France, and till the great warlike preparations which this king made gave umbrage to all his neighbours, and particularly to the States, who began to be jealous of his growing too great, and of his being too near them in Flanders.

Soon afterwards the duke of Parma died, and with him all the good fortune and discipline of the arms of Spain in the Low Countries. He was succeeded in the government by Mansfield, Ernest, and Fuentes successively; but the frequent mutinies of their foldiers, and the bad discipline they were under, were the principal characteristics of their short governments.

The archduke Albert was the next who came as prince and governor of the Low Countries, at the head of a great army drawn out of Italy and Germany, to make the last, but a powerful, effort to regain the Spanish authority, either in a prosperous war or to bring about a good peace, which was then very necessary for the Spanish affairs: it is true that the old discipline of the Spanish forces began to revive by the influence of the archduke, and their fortune to take another turn; but Philip, seeing now the errors which he had committed, and the vanity of all those phantoms for which he had sacrificed his peace, health, and the good of his life, began to direct his thoughts wholly to peace, which he had never yet either allowed to the world or to himself: all his great designs upon England and upon France had ended quite differently to what he intended: the immense treasures which he had drawn from the Indies had been dissipated
to

to enrich his neighbours ; and instead of destroying the liberties and ancient laws of his subjects in the Low Countries, he had lost seven of the provinces, and the rest cost him twice as much as they were worth. He had lately made peace with England, and was about to conclude it with France ; and though he could not think of treating with his own rebellious subjects in his own name, yet he wished to see it done in another's name, and to finish a quarrel on which he had expended such immense sums, which had racked his thoughts and proved a thorn in his side during the whole of his reign. These were the motives which determined him to make choice of the archduke, and to commit to him these two designs, with the title of prince and governor of the Low Countries ; to the end that if he could bring back the revolted provinces to their obedience, he should govern them as Spanish dominions ; but if that could not be effected, he should, by a marriage with Isabella, the favourite daughter of Philip, receive the Low Country Provinces as a dowry with her, and become the prince of them ; with this condition, that in case Isabella died without Issue they should return again to Spain. Philip had heretofore seen how much the noble and generous behaviour of the duke of Parma had gained the good-will of a great part of this resolute people ; wherefore he imagined that the presence and customs of a natural prince among his subjects, and the generous and obliging dispositions of Isabella, might make a greater impression upon the minds of the discontented than acts of violence ; and at all events, if the war was not successful, they might make a peace without wounding the honour and greatness of the Spanish crown.

In pursuit of this plan, Philip acted like a great statesman ; and though he wished for nothing so much as to see peace con-

cluded, yet he made such preparations as if he designed nothing but war; concluding, very justly, that his own desires of peace would avail him very little, except he could force his enemies into the same mode of thinking: though therefore the archduke was now in Flanders at the head of a respectable army, he wisely considered that the peace with France, which was not yet concluded, was the only expedient of preparing the way either for peace or war in the Low Countries; consequently he ordered Albert to march into France, where the taking of Amiens, the capital city in Picardy, gave such an alarm to the French court as they had never received in any of their former wars.

But while this prince was prosecuting the war in France, Philip was employing every method to conclude a peace with this nation, which he now effected according to his most sanguine wishes: however, during this interval the prince of Orange, who under the government of Ernest had taken Groningen, made himself master of Groll, Linghen, and several other places in Overijssel, by these manœuvres reducing these provinces entirely to the Union; and on Albert's return into Flanders, he met him at Newport, where a desperate battle was fought and won by the great bravery of the English troops which were in the prince of Orange's army.

But though this check obstructed the career of Albert's victories, yet, by the obedience and seasonable support of his new subjects, he was soon afterwards in a situation to undertake the siege of Ostend; but the town was so well defended by the bravery of the garrison and inhabitants, that, after a siege of near two years, he would have been obliged to retire, if he had not been recruited by a body of 8000 Italians, commanded by the
marquis

marquis of Spinola, to whom the direction of this siege was entrusted; the place surrendered after a siege of three years, not from want of any men or supplies within the town, as the port was always open, but for want of ground, which was gained inch by inch; the prince of Orange, though he had obtained the battle of Newport, not being in a situation to raise the siege; yet he expiated in some measure the loss of this place by the taking of Sluyce and Grave.

About this time Philip the Second deceased, and with him fell the personal resentment which had given rise to this long and bloody war; after which the archduke, by the consent of the Spanish court, began to concert some measures to effectuate peace, which several other circumstances, besides those already mentioned, had made particularly necessary.

Before the revolt of the Seven Provinces, though the inhabitants of this country were never allowed to trade to the East Indies, yet many in Holland and Zealand had frequently made voyages to these parts; and were not only become skilful pilots, but were well acquainted with the emoluments of this trade.

After a form of government was established in the United Provinces, and this was supported by England and France, great numbers of the persecuted Protestants from France, Germany, and all the other Low Country provinces took refuge in this new state; and, as they could not find employment to support themselves by land, great multitudes began to seek their fortune at sea; but as they were precluded from all the trade of Spain and the Mediterranean sea, they not only fell into that of England, France, and the Northern seas, but they boldly hazarded that

of the East Indies; at first with small forces and moderate success; but afterwards this was pursued with such advantage, and so general an application of the provinces, that they soon rendered themselves masters of the greatest part of the colonies and forts established there originally by the Portuguese, who were now under the Spanish dominion; and Holland and Zealand became the great magazines of all the manufactures and merchandizes of the East.

This blow was sensibly felt by Spain, and all Europe beheld with amazement the growth of this naval power. In the American seas indeed their attempts were not so frequent nor so prosperous, the Spanish colonies in this part of the world being too well fortified, and too numerous to be subjugated by a coup-de-main; but by the immense number of their ships of war and privateers they carried off all the Spanish merchant ships in the coasting trade, and even lay in wait for and threatened their West India fleet. This was touching Spain to the quick, and was in fact one of the principal motives which induced that court to demand a peace; as it was now clearly seen that if the war was perpetual, all their treasures would be either wrested from them by the enemy, or expended unusefully to maintain the war in the Low Countries.

The proposals of peace came wholly from the court of Spain, to the great surprize of all Europe; and even the States themselves thought, at first, that it was only an artifice, and would not be prevailed upon to enter into any negociation by a suspension of arms, till the archduke had positively affirmed that he would treat with them as with free provinces, to which neither he nor the court of Spain had any pretensions: indeed this court,

as well as the archduke, was so extremely desirous of terminating this war, that the treaty of peace was by mutual consent discussed at the Hague, the residence of the States General; and, for the great honour and dispatch of the whole business, the archduke consented that four of his principal ministers should attend and prosecute it there.

The Hollanders, on the other hand, advanced very slowly and with great haughtiness towards this peace; and would not receive the archduke's declaration of treating them as free provinces, before it was ratified in form by the court of Spain: the great success of their arms by land, and the mighty augmentation of their naval power and of their commerce, made not only their militia both by land and sea, but the greatest part of the inhabitants, averse to this treaty: their hatred to Spain was now as violent as ever, and they were in hopes of making great fortunes by the war, as they had many and great examples among them. But there were two principal motives which engaged the States to enter into this treaty, and which weighed more with this sagacious people than all others; the first was the situation of the affairs of Spain and France at that time; the Spanish monarchy, so formidable under the reign of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, was now, by a series of unfortunate events, visibly on the decline. On the other hand, there was a great and enterprising king upon the throne of France, who, after having surmounted innumerable difficulties with much prudence and valour, and ended all his wars in peace with Spain, was at the summit of his felicity. The prudent Hollanders very justly supposed that the turbulent spirit of the French nation could not remain long inactive; and to prevent it from breaking
out

out again at home, so enterprizing a genius as Henry the Fourth would certainly find some expedient to exercise it abroad.

They had moreover received information that Henry was making great preparations for war, and no country seemed so likely to be the theatre of it as Flanders, which had been anciently a part of the French nation: if therefore the Spanish power in Flanders was destroyed, they clearly foresaw that they should be as much at the mercy of such a power as France, as they had formerly been of such a master as Spain. As they therefore were now on very good terms with Henry, these prudent statesmen thought it best, by a peace, to give the archduke time to recruit his forces and to re-establish his affairs, to be as a kind of barrier between them and France; and by this means also to lessen the invitation of the arms of France in the Low Countries. The second motive which induced the States to enter into this treaty, was the great credit and power of Maurice prince of Orange, founded originally upon that of his father, but much increased by his own personal virtues and qualities, and the great success of his arms. A considerable party of the States headed by Barnevelt, pensioner of Holland, a man of great abilities and authority among them, became jealous of this prince's authority; as he was now governor of four provinces, and his two cousins of the other three; conscious that it would be augmented by the continuance of a war, which was wholly in his management; and supposing that, in a peace, it would diminish and give way to the authority of the civil power; which stimulated this party to enter heartily into the treaty, and to accelerate the progress and issue of it with all their power: after long debates therefore upon points of religion, the Indian trade, and many other less essential particulars, the negotiation of peace was

was finished; and in the year 1609 a truce was concluded for twelve years, the principal articles of which were, the declaration of treating them as free provinces; the cessation of all acts of hostility on both sides during the truce; the enjoyment, in that interval, of what each party possessed at the time of making the treaty; that free commerce should be restored on all parts in the same manner as it was before the war commenced; and that no new fortification should be erected on either side.

Thus, after a war of more than thirty years, the Seven United Provinces came to be acknowledged as a free Republic by their ancient master, after having been thus regarded for many years before by most of the kings and princes in Europe. At the very time of concluding this treaty, an alliance was formed between Henry the Fourth of France and the States, for preserving the peace if it should be concluded, or if it failed, to give each other mutual assistance; 10,000 men on the king's part, and 5000 on the part of the States. Henry seemed to omit no measure that might contribute to engage this republic to his interest, that they might make him the arbitrator of the peace, or in future of the war, if the truce should be broken, or expire of itself.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, in the end of the year 1609, the duke of Cleves and Juliers dying without any male heirs, left these duchies to the pretensions of his daughters, in right of whom the dukes of Brandenburg and Nieuburg possessed themselves of such parts as they could first invade, each of them claiming the whole inheritance. The duke of Brandenburg desired assistance from the United Provinces to support his title. The duke of Nieuburg, from the archduke Albert and from Spain. The latter having with great difficulty extricated

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themselves from a long and expensive war were not desirous of interesting themselves in this quarrel further than to prevent their rivals from taking advantage of it, and, under pretence of assisting one of the parties, seizing upon such parts of these territories as lay most contiguous to their own. But the States were not altogether so just, nor content to lose so fair an opportunity, but marched a body of troops and surprized the town of Juliers, though they pretended only to keep possession of it till the contending parties were agreed; with the persuasion that Spain, after having sacrificed so much in the late truce, both in Europe and in the East Indies, to terminate their own quarrel, would not easily be induced to break it again on account of a quarrel of their neighbours.

But the archduke saw this matter in a different light, and having first concerted his plan with the court of Spain, resolved to risk the Ten Provinces again in a new war rather than suffer such an accession of dominion and power to accrue to the United Provinces. Hereupon he first, in the name of the duke of Nieuburg, demanded restitution of Juliers; and, upon the States giving an equivocal answer, he immediately formed an army, under the command of Spinola, and marched towards Juliers, as though he meant to attack that town; but while the troops of the States were preparing to make a desperate defence, he made a sudden diversion, marched towards Wesel, and attacked this place with such a fury that the inhabitants were greatly terrified and surprized, so that he made himself master of it before the Dutch troops could come to their assistance.

The States were amazed at this bold attempt of the Spanish general, by which he had made himself master of a pass that
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opened the way for any new invasion of their provinces; they therefore immediately interceded with England and France to mediate an agreement between the archduke and themselves, which was at length concluded; so that neither party were permitted to invade any part of those duchies; and the truce was soon afterwards changed into a general peace. Hence therefore the archduke and the court of Spain, by the great zeal which they manifested for peace, entered into a truce upon conditions imposed by the States; and now, by the resolution which they shewed of renewing the war, they made a peace upon their own terms; an event from which we may draw several conclusions:

First, That the only time to make an advantageous peace is when the enemy demands it, and when we are in the best situation to continue the war.

Second, That it is very bad policy to endeavour to avoid a war by yielding any point of interest or honour; which will always encourage new enemies, occasion new insults, and dishearten friends and allies.

Third, It is a dangerous maxim for weak princes to call in greater powers to their aid, as they are often more oppressed by their new friends than they would have been by their enemies.

Fourth, A prince should never make his demands too high from his successes in a war, especially when obtained by a concurrence of accidents, because the situation of affairs may change, and his enemy will be thereby encouraged to make the greater demands upon him.

Fifth, A prince should never march out his forces to attack the territories of his enemy before he is in a situation to receive any opposition which his enemy may make, and at the same time prosecute his attack with vigour.

C H A P. II.

Of the present Form of Government in the SEVEN PROVINCES.

IT will appear from what has been said in the foregoing chapter upon the rise and progress of this government, that we may date its origin from the Union of Utrecht, and that it may be more properly called a Federate Republic of Seven Sovereign Provinces, united together for their common and mutual defence, and without being dependent the one upon the other, than a regular Commonwealth.

But to lay open this matter more clearly, it will be necessary to examine particularly the several parts which form the whole; as each of these provinces is composed of several cities and towns which have many parts of the sovereign power within themselves, and are not subject to the sovereignty of their province; not being, in many respects, subjected by the majority, but only by the general consent of the voices in the Provincial States; for as the States General cannot raise any new levies of money, or make war or peace, or form any new alliance, without the consent of every province, neither can the States of a province conclude any of those particulars without the consent of each city or town, that by the ancient constitution of the province has a voice in that assembly. All the principal cities have courts of
judicature

judicature within themselves; and though, in most civil cases, there is an appeal from the city courts to those of the province, yet, in all criminal cases, there is no appeal from the former to the latter; nor can the sovereign power of any province exercise any judicature, seize upon any criminal, or execute any common resolution of law within the jurisdiction of a city, but by the proper justice and officers of the same city. Hence a great part of the sovereign authority, such as levying money, making war and peace, and the power of exercising judicature, is seen to be vested in each city; with respect to the other part, that of coining money, it is neither in particular cities or provinces; but, by general consent, it was vested in the generality soon after the union, and by them each province is regulated respecting this matter. Hence the principal parts which enter into the composition of this government are, the freedom of the cities and towns; the sovereign authority of the States of the provinces; the articles or constitutions of the Union; and the authority of the Stadtholders; according to this arrangement therefore I shall proceed to give a particular detail of this government; and as there is a general resemblance between the government of each of the Seven Provinces in the union, as well as between that of the several cities in each province, I shall begin with the capital of Holland, as the strongest, richest, and most powerful city in the Seven Provinces, and conclude with an account of that province in general; and, to avoid prolixity, mark only the other provinces or cities where there is some essential difference in the plan of government.

The sovereign authority of the city of Amsterdam is in the resolutions of their senate; an order composed of 36 persons, who are the administrators of justice, according to the ancient forms:

forms: but levies of money are made by arbitrary resolutions, according to the demands of the state. The senators hold their offices for life, and were anciently elected by the freemen of the city; who, upon the death of a senator, assembled together in some public place, and there chose some other person to succeed him by the majority of voices. This mode of government continued in Amsterdam, till the persecutions of the Spanish government in the Low Countries, and of the Romish clergy in other parts, forced great numbers of Protestant merchants into Holland, and particularly into this city; when, under pretence that these frequent assemblies were on the verge of creating tumult and disorder upon every occasion, by reason of their great numbers and contention, this election of senators came, by a resolution of the burghers or freemen, to be vested for ever in the standing senate at that time; so that ever afterwards when a senator dies, a new one is chosen by the rest of the senate, without any intervention of the other free burghers. This mode of election likewise obtains in all the other great cities of the Seven Provinces, which makes their government a kind of oligarchy; indeed in all the other towns in these provinces, when there is a vacancy in the senate (which is more or less in number according to the size of the town) or in the magistracy, the senators present three to the stadtholder, out of whom he chooses one; so that the government of this state is far from being popular, and the inhabitants a free people, as they are generally esteemed by those superficial writers who content themselves with common observations and enquiries.

By this senate are likewise chosen all the chief magistrates of the town, such as the burgo-masters and echevins: there are four burgo-masters in Amsterdam, of whom three are chosen every

year, and the fourth continues in office two years; but the three who were last chosen are the reigning burgo-masters for that year, and preside alternately after the first quarter of a year; for the burgo-master of the preceding year presides during this period.

The burgo-masters in Amsterdam are not much unlike the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London; they represent the dignity of the government, and do the honours of the city; they dispose of all the under-offices which become vacant in their time, and issue out of the treasury all such sums as are necessary to preserve the safety and dignity of the city; they keep the keys of the bank of Amsterdam, that immense magazine of treasure, which is never opened but in the presence of one of them; they also inspect and carry on all the great public works of the city.

This is an office of the greatest trust, authority, and dignity, but of very little profit; as the salary of a burgo-master of this great city does not amount to 1000 guilders a year, with all its emoluments; it is true, they have a great number of very considerable offices in their disposal; but if they were known to take any money for disposing of them they would immediately lose all their credit in the city.

They are not obliged to be at any extraordinary expence in their manner of living on account of this office; for, upon all public occasions, they are waited upon by dincars who receive a salary from the city, and whenever they make any grand entertainments the charge is defrayed out of the public treasury, but proportioned indeed by their discretion. When the office of a burgo-master expires, he is generally appointed by the senate
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to some other beneficial charge or employment in the city, if he has discharged his honorary office with credit and reputation.

The echevins are the members of the court of justice in every town. In this city they are nine in number, of whom seven are chosen annually, but two of the preceding year continue in their office: double the number is named by the senate, out of which the reigning burgo-masters choose the proper number; as the stadtholder does in all the other towns.

They have a sovereign jurisdiction in all criminal cases; but in civil ones, above a certain value, there is an appeal to the provincial court of justice. In capital crimes they never pass sentence of death upon any man without first advising with the burgo-masters; though this appears to be only matter of form, for they are not bound to follow the burgo-masters opinion, but are left to decide by their own.

Under the senate, and these sovereign magistrates, the principal subordinate officers of the city are: First, The scout-master, who watches over the public peace, apprehends all criminals, and sees the sentences of justice executed; his authority is somewhat similar to that of a sheriff in England, or like the lieutenant of the police in Paris. Second, The pensioner, who is always a civil lawyer, well acquainted with the records, customs, and privileges of the city, of which he informs the magistrates upon particular occasions: he is the first dincar of the senate and of the burgo-masters, makes their speeches upon all public occasions, and is very much like the recorder of the city of London. Third, The treasurers, who receive and issue out all the sums of money that are properly the revenues or treasure of the city.

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The revenues of Amsterdam arise out of the constant excises upon all sorts of commodities that are consumed within its precincts; out of the imports and exports of all kinds of merchandizes; out of the rents of the city houses and lands; out of certain duties upon every house; or out of the extraordinary levies that are raised by the consent of the senate, for furnishing such part of the public charge as is agreed on by their deputies, in the provincial States, for the use of the province; or by the deputies of the States of Holland for the use and support of the Union. All these payments, which are made for the public uses of the States General, of the States of the province, or in the city, in Amsterdam, amount at a moderate computation to 20,000,000 of guilders, and are carried into the common stock of the town.

Certain it is that there is no town of commerce where convenience, elegance, and strength are better consulted than in this; the stadthouse, arsenal, and other public buildings are magnificent; and every thing is supported with neatness and conveniency. The senate likewise chooses the deputies, who are sent from this city to the States of Holland, which are composed of the deputies, of the nobles, and of the towns, having 19 voices, of which the nobles have only the first, and the towns 18: though the nobles, who indeed are but few in this province, have altogether but one voice in the States equally with the smallest town, yet they are very considerable in the government, not only as possessing many of the principal charges, both civil and military, and by having the direction of all the ecclesiastical revenue that was seized by the States upon the change of religion, but by sending their deputies to all the councils both of the generality and of the province, and by the nomination of one

counsellor in the two great courts of justice. They are the first who give their voice in the assembly of the States, and thence have a great weight in determining the business in consultation. The pensioner of Holland assists them at all their deliberations before they come to the assembly, and delivers their suffrage for them; and, though his rank is inferior to all their deputies, yet, as being the first minister of the province, and as his charge is generally for life, though it ought to be renewed every five years, he has always great credit, especially as he has likewise a place in all the several assemblies of the province, and in that of the States proposes all the matters for debate, and forms or digests all the resolutions according to the general sentiments of the assembly; he is likewise one of their constant deputies in the States General.

The deputies of the towns, to the states of the province, are chiefly chosen from among the senate and magistrates of each town; their number is uncertain, according to the pleasure of the cities which send them; but they have all together but one voice, and are all maintained at the charge of their respective cities.

The States of Holland assemble generally four times every year at the Hague; in the spring and summer sessions they generally fill up all vacant charges, and renew the forms for all the several taxes, as well as consult about any affairs that may affect the general good of the province, or the differences that may arise between the cities: but in the autumn and winter they meet to resolve upon the continuation of the charge which has been allotted to their province for the succeeding year by the States General, as necessary for the support of the union.

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Moreover, on all extraordinary occasions they are called together by a council, which is called The Committee of the States, is properly the council of state of the province, and is composed of several deputies, one from the nobles, one from each of the great towns, and but one from three of the small towns, which choose him alternately.

This council sits constantly at the Hague, executes the resolutions of the provincial States, and proposes to them, at their extraordinary meetings, the subjects that are to come under their consideration.

In these provincial assemblies the voices are equal, and though they must be unanimous in a resolution, yet from the natural caution of these people it seldom happens that they are otherwise: moreover, as they are all united by one common bond of interest, they come after full debates to easy resolutions; even where a majority concur in any particular affair, when it is well supported by reason, the minority seldom for any long time contest it. When the deputies of the States agree in their provincial assemblies, they send some of their number to their respective cities, to propose the affair and the reasons alledged for supporting it, and desire orders from them to conclude it; which seldom fails if the necessity or utility of it be clear: but if it is an affair of an intricate nature, which demands some time to examine it attentively, the States generally adjourn till all the deputies are returned from their respective towns; where their influence, and the reasons given in the provincial assemblies, make an impression upon the city assemblies, and generally gain their consent. Hence therefore will appear the reasons why

all the public affairs of this State are carried on so slowly, even upon the most urgent occasions.

Besides these assemblies, every province has likewise a treasurer and a chamber of accounts, who manage the general revenues of the province.

As the provinces of Holland and Zealand were formerly concluded in one government, so have they likewise had one common judicature, which is exercised by two courts of justice, each of them common to both the provinces. The first is composed of 12 counsellors, nine of Holland and three of Zealand, of whom the stadtholder is the chief: by the old constitution he used to preside whenever he thought proper, and to name all the counsellors, except one, who was chosen by the nobles. This is the supreme court in all criminal cases; but in civil cases there lies an appeal from it to the other court, which is called The Chief Council, from which there is no regular appeal, but by a petition to the States of the province, when these are of opinion that there is a sufficient reason for it.

The Union is formed of the sovereign provinces of Holland, Frizeland, Zealand, Utrecht, Groningen, Overijssel, and Gelderland, who choose their respective deputies, and send them to the Hague, to compose the three several assemblies called The States General, The Council of State, and The Chamber of Accounts.

The sovereign power of this Federate Republic is in the assembly of the States General, which, according to their original institution, was convoked only upon extraordinary occasions by
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the council of state; but this was seldom done, and they then consisted of above 800 persons, which rendered the debates long and confused, and the resolutions slow, and, upon pressing occasions, generally out of time.

In the absence of this assembly, the council of state represented their authority, executed all their resolutions, and judged of the necessity of a new convocation; till after the earl of Leicester left the government in queen Elizabeth's time, when the States of the provinces desired of the then States General that they might, by their constant respective deputies, continue an assembly under the name and with all the authority of the States General, which was consented to; on which they first framed the ordinary council denominated The States General, which has since that time been known by this name, sits constantly at the Hague, and represents the sovereignty of the union, giving audience and dispatch to all foreign ministers; but it is in fact only a representation of the States General, the assemblies of which are now wholly discontinued.

The provinces send their deputies to the States General in what number they please; some send 12, some 10, and others only two; this making no difference, because all their resolutions are carried, not by the votes of persons but of provinces; all the deputies of one province, be they more or less, having only one vote. Some of the provinces likewise send their deputies for life, others for a certain number of years, and others only for one year.

The province of Holland sends to the States General one of their nobles, who is perpetual; one deputy chosen out of North Holland;

Holland; two of their provincial council of state; two deputies chosen out of their eight principal towns, and their pensioner.

Neither the stadtholder nor any person in a military charge has a seat in the States General, in which every province presides their week in turns, by one of the most qualified persons among the deputies of that province: he is seated in a large armed chair at the middle of a long table, capable of holding between 30 and 40 persons, for of about that number is this assembly usually composed: the greffier or secretary of state sits at the lower end of the table, and when any foreign minister has an audience, he is seated over against the president at the middle of this table, who proposes all the matters to be discussed in this assembly; orders the greffier to read all such papers as are to be considered; collects the voices of the provinces; and forms the resolution. This is the plan which is pursued in all the ordinary business that comes before them; but in cases of peace and war, of foreign alliances, of raising extraordinary supplies, or coining of money, of the privileges of any province or member, of the union, or any other extraordinary matter, all the provinces must concur, as unanimity is required. This council is not, strictly speaking, sovereign; it only represents the sovereignty, and therefore there is not any matter of great consequence resolved upon, without first consulting the States of each province by their respective deputies, and receiving orders from them.

The council of state is composed of a certain fixed number of deputies from the several provinces: Holland sends three; Zealand, Utrecht, and Gelderland two each; Frizeland, Groningen, and Overijssel only one each; so that this assembly consists only
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of 12 persons, who vote not by provinces but by personal voices, and every deputy presides by turns.

In this assembly the stadtholder has a feat, and a decisive voice: the treasurer general has also a feat, but only a deliberative voice: the deputy from the nobles of Holland is for life; and so are likewise the deputies from the province of Zealand: the rest are only for a certain number of years.

This council executes all the resolutions of the States General, prepares all the principal matters which come under their deliberation, and proposes to them the most expedient methods of raising troops, and of levying money, and as well the proportion of each, which they suppose will be necessary in all conjunctures and revolutions of the state: the superintendency of the militia, the fortifications, and the affairs, revenues, and government of all the places conquered since the union is in this council; for as the conquered places were gained by the common arms of the State, they depend upon the States General, and not upon any particular province.

In the month of October or November of every year this council forms an estimate of the expences which they imagine will be necessary for the service of the ensuing year, presents it to the States General, and desires them to demand so much of the provincial States, to be levied according to the proportions which have heretofore been agreed on between the provinces, which are, in 1,000,000 of guilders, in Holland 583,090 guilders; in Frizeland 116,611; in Zealand 91,831; in Utrecht 58,001; in Groningen 58,301; in Gelderland 36,120; in Overijssel 35,711.

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This petition, as it is called, is made to the States General, in the name of the stadtholder and council of state; and is, in fact, nothing more than a continuation of the ancient forms used in the time of their sovereigns; and which is still used by the governor and council of state in the Austrian Netherlands.

This council of state likewise disposes of all the sums of money that are destined for extraordinary affairs, and expedites all the orders for the expences of the state, according to the resolutions first taken by the States General. These orders are first signed by three deputies of different provinces, and as well by the treasurer general, and then registered in the chamber of accounts, before the receiver general is authorized to pay them; afterwards they are paid immediately without any charge or delay. Each province raises what sum of money its States shall think proper; and after its quota is sent to the receiver general, the rest is appropriated to the particular uses of the province.

The chamber of accounts was erected in the beginning of the last century, for the ease of the council of state, to regulate the accompts of the several receivers, and to register the orders of the council of state respecting the finances: this chamber is composed of two deputies from each province, who are changed every three years.

Besides all these councils, there is the council of the admiralty, who, when by the advice of the council of state the States General have consented that a fleet of ships of such a number and force shall be fitted out, have the whole disposition of all the affairs relating to it. This college is divided into five parts, of which three are in Holland, one at Amsterdam,

one at Rotterdam, and another at Horne; the fourth is at Harlingen in Frizeland; and the fifth at Middleburg in Zealand: each part of this college is composed of seven deputies; four of the province where the college is held, and three who are chosen by the other provinces.

The stadtholder, as admiral in chief, or, in his absence, the vice admiral, has a seat in all these colleges, and is always the president when he is there in person, or otherwise he names a president. This council likewise takes cognizance of all such crimes as are committed upon the high seas; as well as of all frauds or negligences in the payments of the customs; which form a fund that is applicable to the admiralty, and to no other use whatever: when this fund is not sufficient for this purpose, as happens often in time of war, it is supplied, by the States, with what is necessary from other funds; and as in time of peace it furnishes more perhaps than is necessary for this service, the remainder is applied to build ships of war, to furnish the arsenals and stores with every material for ship-building, or to such other purposes as the States General shall think proper.

The authority of the stadtholder, which enters deeply into the government of this state, and which indeed had an essential part in its original formation, as well as in its growth and progress, has generally been in the family of the prince of Orange; and though the States have two or three times endeavoured to suppress or exclude it, their attempts have always ended in some dangerous revolution; till at length it became hereditary in this family.

This great office commenced in the person of William prince of Orange immediately after the union of Utrecht, and not so much from his being governor of Holland and Zealand in Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second's reign, as from the high esteem the people entertained of his wisdom, integrity, and courage; the provinces moreover from the time of their being first civilized, had always been under the direction of some chief, who was likewise subordinate to their laws and customs, and to the sovereign power of the state.

In the first constitution of this government, after the union of Utrecht, all the power and rights of the prince of Orange, as governor of the provinces of Holland and Zealand, seem to have been carefully reserved, and extended also to the other provinces of the union: but all those rights and powers which were heretofore vested in the sovereign, now devolved upon the assembly of the States General; so that the power of making peace or war, of forming all foreign alliances, and of raising and coining money remained in them: in the prince, as stadtholder, is the command of all the forces by land and sea, he being also captain general and high admiral; and also the disposition of all military commands, governments of towns, &c. together with the power of pardoning crimes, and choosing magistrates, upon the nomination of the senates of the respective towns, as they generally present three to the stadtholder, who elects one out of that number.

Originally the States General were called together upon extraordinary occasions by the council of state, where the stadtholder had always great influence; nor indeed, since that change, have the States resolved upon any important matter without his approbation.

bation. Moreover, as the States General represent the sovereignty of the state, so does the stadtholder its dignity, by public guards and the attendance of all the military officers, and by the splendor of his court.

Upon this basis was this Federate Republic first established, and by these regulations supported, till the party of the de Witts became powerfull, during the minority of William the Third king of England; when, by the great influence of this faction in the province of Holland, as well as in the other provinces, the States passed a resolution to suppress or to exclude the charge of stadtholder, and to share the authority among the several magistrates of the State: the senates of the cities assumed the final nomination of their several magistrates: the provincial States claimed the disposal of all the military commands in those bodies of troops which they paid by their respective quotas: and the States General the command of the armies, by officers who were appointed and changed at their will. No power remained to pardon what was once condemned by rigor of law; nor any person to represent the dignity of a sovereign state: and by the great influence and riches of the province of Holland; by the great integrity and constancy of their chief minister; and by the prosperous state of their affairs, which was perhaps the effect of both, this new form of government supported itself for near 20 years: yet, as it was a constitution strained against the opinion of the bulk of the people, it ended in a revolution which will be hereafter explained, and prince William was elected stadtholder.

After the death of king William the stadtholdership was again suppressed, and the authority shared among the States, till the close of the last war in Flanders, when the late prince of Orange

was chosen stadtholder by another revolution, and that high office was declared, by a resolution of the States, to be hereditary in his family.

The constitutions of Zealand, Gelderland, and Utrecht, are very similar to those of Holland; the States of the two former being composed of deputies from the nobles and the cities; but with these small differences, in Gelderland all the nobles, who have certain fiefs or lordships in the province have seats; they compose one half of the States, and the deputies from the towns the other: a certain number of their nobles only are deputed to the States General; but the whole body may attend there, if they will attend at their own charge.

All the nobility in Zealand were extinguished in the Spanish wars; and as the prince of Orange possessed the marquisesates of Flushing and Jerveer, he alone makes that part of the States of this province, having the title of the first or sole noble of Zealand, by his deputy having the first voice in the States of the province, in the council of state, and in the chamber of accompts. He likewise, as sovereign of these marquisesates, creates all the magistrates, and disposes of the voices of two towns; though there are but six which send their deputies to the States, and constitute the sovereignty of the province.

In the province of Utrecht, besides the deputies from the nobles and those of the cities, eight deputies of the clergy have seats, and make a third member of the States of the province: these are elected out of the chapters of the capital city, the revenues of which, together with the nominal preferments, though they were anciently in the church, are now possessed

by lay-persons, who are for the most part gentlemen of the province.

This province was conquered in the year 1672, by Lewis the Fourteenth, and afterwards reconquered by the prince of Orange, together with some other towns in Brabant; whereupon the States General of the other six provinces came to a resolution not to admit this province any more into the union, but to treat it as a conquered province; which was highly resented by the States of the province; but by the interposition of the prince of Orange the affair was settled, and the States of the province were restored to their former privileges and seats in the States General.

The form of government in the province of Frizeland is entirely different from that of the other provinces already mentioned: the province is composed of four members; one is formed by the quarter of Oftergo, which consists of 11 baillages; another of the quarter of Westergo, which consists of nine; a third of Seveawolden, which consists of 10; and the fourth member consists of the towns of the province, which are 11 in number. These four members have each of them a right to send their deputies to the States; that is, two chosen out of every baillage, and two out of every town; and these represent the sovereignty of the province, and conclude all affairs of what consequence soever, without being obliged to know the intentions of those who deputed them; to which the deputies of all the other provinces are strictly bound, and must either follow the instructions they bring with them to the latter, or have the consent of their principals, before they can conclude any new affair that may arise.

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In the other provinces the senates of the respective towns choose the deputies which compose the States, but in Frizeland it is of a different nature; for every baillage is governed by a baillie, who governs his circuit, consisting of a certain extent of country, with the assistance of a proper number of persons who are called his Assessors; and these together judge of all civil causes, in the first instance, but with an appeal to the provincial court of justice. When the States are convoked, every baillie calls together all those who are possessed of a certain quantity of land within his district of what quality soever, and these, by a majority of voices, choose the two deputies whom each baillage sends to the assembly of the States.

This assembly, as in all other provinces, represents the sovereign authority of the province; disposes of all vacant employments; chooses nine deputies, who compose the provincial council of state; and 12 counsellors, i. e. three from every quarter, who compose the provincial court of justice, and judge of all criminal causes, in the first instance, there being no other criminal court but this in the whole province, and of all civil causes in the last resort.

In the province of Groningen likewise the elections of the deputies out of the country are made as in Frizeland, by persons possessed of a certain portion of land; but in the province of Overijssel all the nobles, who are possessed of manors or feigneries, are qualified to make a part of the States.

The greatness of the United Provinces consists principally in these orders, though apparently very confused, and composed of heterogeneous parts, and in the choice of the officers who have
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the chief trust in the state, in the provinces, and in the cities; to which likewise the natural phlegm and reservedness of the people in some measure contribute; for certainly as the bulk of the people are not suffered to have the least share in any part of the government, not even in the choice of their deputies, the immensity of the taxes throughout the whole state, which are three times as great as in the most arbitrary governments in Europe, and the despotism of the senates in every respective town, and of the States in every province, could never be endured by a people less phlegmatic and reserved than the people of this country.

But, in the debates of their senates and provincial assemblies, every man's abilities are as much developed as his character is in his domestic conduct; and by this means his credit is either raised or diminished, not only in the assembly or in the senate, but among the people: the former, to maintain their authority with less popular envy and discontent, giving much into the general opinion of the latter in the choice of their deputies and magistrates.

Nothing is more disagreeable in this country than what they call a turbulent person, that is, a man who has some brilliancy of parts, and who should aspire to know more than his neighbours: a man therefore who would gain any preferment in this state must advance with great deliberation and slowness, and shew his talents gradually. For though these people are not, from their natural cold and phlegmatic disposition, ingenious enough to comprehend any matter readily, and to furnish a pleasant and agreeable discourse, yet they do not want common sense to judge of matters slowly in their own way, and to take care of all their
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affairs both public and private. Their animal spirits do not seem to be volatile enough to give into any range of imagination, but they are constant and steady; and if it be true, as some authors have observed, that the greatest ability in business seems to be the steady pursuit of some one thing, till it come to an end, with continual application and endeavours not to be diverted by every representation of new hopes or fears, certainly these people have considerable abilities.

Moreover it will likewise be observed, that the warmth of the heart goes along with that of the head; so that where the passions are warmer, the imaginations are quicker; and there are few men who have the proper use of their natural faculties, but have judgment enough to distinguish between right and wrong, and between good and bad, when represented properly to them; and consequently who have not sense and reflection enough to do their business, when it is not biased or corrupted by their passions; so that the coldness of the latter will not a little contribute to the ability and honesty of a great part of mankind.

The inhabitants of this country would not bear any impositions, or the least exercise of arbitrary power under the Spanish government, nor even the sight of any foreign troops; but since that time have endured them all in the highest degree under their own magistrates; have been curbed with oppressive laws, and made to suffer the most cruel hardships, and a variety of taxes, that perhaps was ever known in any government; they have been terrified with several executions, and surrounded with foreign troops: but whilst all public monies are applied to promote the grandeur, honour, or safety of the state, and the magistrates themselves bear an equal share in all the burthens which
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they impose; whilst no great riches are seen to be accumulated by particulars out of the public stock, or whilst this stock is not applied to feed extravagance and luxury; whilst no man is exempted from the supreme authority of the laws; and whilst the direct road to authority and power is, at least, in the appearance of honesty and industry, the people bear all the impositions which are laid upon them with contentment.

C H A P. III.

Of the RELIGION, MANNERS, and CUSTOMS of the Hollanders.

TH E people of the United Provinces may be divided into five separate classes. First, The nobles. Second, The rich merchants who are retired from business, and live upon the interest of their riches. Third, The merchants and traders, who fill their towns. Fourth, The seamen, who supply their ships and coasts; and Fifth, The boors, as they are called, or country farmers.

The nobles are the descendents of their ancient nobility who were raised to this rank by their former sovereigns. In Holland and Zealand they are but very few, having almost become extinct during the long wars with Spain; but in all the other provinces there are but too many for the extent of their territory.

In this country, as in Germany, all the sons take the title of their father, as count, baron, &c. and suppose that they would be dishonoured if they were to engage in commerce, or to apply themselves to any of the liberal professions, or to marry a woman

was not of their own rank, even supposing they were in the greatest poverty, and such a measure would recruit their broken fortunes; so that they are generally all employed in the civil or military charges of the province or state.

They value themselves more upon their nobility than is generally done in other countries where it is more common, and still retain all the pride and haughtiness of their ancient masters; which, joined to their own natural slowness and reservedness, make them often appear very ridiculous.

They endeavour to imitate the French in their manners, their dress, and even in their gallantry; but alas! they are the very contrast of that nation. In other respects, they are honest and well-meaning, and in general acquit themselves with honour in their several employments.

The rich merchants, who live upon the interest of their fortunes, in all the great cities, are a very different species of people; and, till very lately, were very modest in their dress and manner of living; but that torrent of luxury which for some time past has almost overwhelmed the better sort of people in England and France, has now found its way likewise into Holland; and, from the excess of parsimony in which they were educated, like the children of misers, they are fallen into the greatest prodigality. Their youth are bred up in schools, and in the universities, in Leyden, Utrecht, or Groningen, generally in the study of the Roman civil law, which is for the most part that of their country, though this republic is as great a contrast to the ancient Roman republic as the people of this country are to those of France. These young men seldom travel into foreign countries, an excursion

sion now and then as far as Paris is thought to be a great affair. The chief object of their education is to qualify them for the service of their country, in the magistracy of their towns, their provinces, or their state; and of these kind of men are the civil officers of this government for the most part composed, being descended from families who have been in the magistracy of their native towns perhaps for several ages past.

They are entire strangers to freedom of thought, and though their government is in some degree popular, very few persons in this state dare speak their real sentiments freely: they are for the most part educated in principles so uncommonly cautious, that they cannot relinquish them when they enter more into public life.

This class of people, as well as the nobles, depend very much upon the prince of Orange, as stadtholder, who disposes of almost all the public employments; and, consequently, who is at once their master, and the first servant of the state. They hate the stadtholder for being, as they imagine, an unnecessary embargo upon the springs of their government; but they have so little harmony and friendship among themselves, that they dare not avow their sentiments to each other.

Men of genius receive but very little encouragement in this country, though these people would be thought free and generous, and encouragers of the sciences; but that natural parsimony in which they are educated bears down every thing before it.

On the other hand, there are very few among this class of people who enter into chicanery and act an unjust part; they are

the very reverse of this, and generally conduct themselves with probity and integrity.

This class of people, whose families are as it were habituated to the magistracy of the towns and provinces, seldom grow very rich by it, the salaries of all the public employments being very small; and they content themselves with the honour of being useful to the public, and with the esteem of their fellow citizens.

The merchants and tradesmen of all ranks, who fill their great towns, are in general people of more vivacity and cunning than the preceding class: educated in the principles of an æconomical commerce, they are very industrious, and constantly apply themselves to the ends they purpose and pursue: they make use of their cunning and wit, if it may be so denominated, to take advantage of the ignorance or folly of those they deal with; and exact most intolerably when the law is on their side; but when they transact with men who are as knowing as themselves, or when they are within the reach of the laws, they appear to be the plainest and most honest dealers in the world: which indeed does not seem to arise so much from a principle of morality, or from the dictates of conscience, as from a custom which trade has introduced among them; for without common honesty trade could no more subsist than an army could subsist without discipline.

The people are declared enemies to generosity, and would think a person meant to affront or cheat them who should speak of such a thing. Indeed the rich merchants and traders of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middleburg, who are mostly descended from English, Scotch, or French ancestors, are more liberal and
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free in their deportment, and preserve a great deal of their independency. Formerly this class of people lived in a very plain and frugal way, but at present they give into all kinds of excess and luxury. The mighty growth and excess of riches in this commercial state is seen more among this order of men than among any other, their whole application is addressed to this object; they are content with a very little share of the government, they desire only to possess what they have in security, to be troubled with no cares but those of managing their respective trades and fortunes, and to employ the rest of their time and thought in amusing themselves; yet, when they have accumulated a great fortune, they choose to educate their sons after the manner of those who are mostly in credit in their towns, and versed in the offices of magistrates, as well as make interest to introduce them into the paths of government and honour; which in this country does not so much consist in titles as in public employments.

The mariners, who supply their ships and boats, are a very plain but uncivilized kind of people; are very surly and ill mannered; and, like all the common people in this country, are vicious and dishonest: they have very little language more than is necessary to express their ideas in their business; and are so extremely slow in their motions, that 10 English seamen would do as much in working a ship as 18 or 20 of them: they are great drinkers of coffee and spirituous liquors; which, from the coldness and moisture of the climate, may be very conducive to health.

The boors, or country farmers, are a set of people who are very industrious and diligent, but not very laborious; they are
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naturally dull and slow of comprehension, and consequently are not to be treated with quick or hasty words, or with violence; but when managed softly, and with fair words, they will be guided by plain reason; but they must have time to comprehend it. Those who are not depraved and corrupted, by being too much in or near the great towns, are very honest and just in their dealings, and seem to know very little other good than what the supply of nature requires, and the common increase of wealth; they are fond of their ancient customs and manners however absurd and disgusting to a more refined age.

In times past there were some customs or dispositions which seemed to run through all orders of men in this state; which were great frugality and order in their expences; and avoiding every thing luxurious and extravagant, supposing, as it is apprehended, that the opulence of a nation consisted more in the manners of its inhabitants than in its ideal riches; and that it has been generally observed, that those who were corrupted by their riches, were afterwards much more so by their poverty. But the case is very different at present; a torrent of luxury and extravagance without bounds has forced its way among all the higher classes of people in this state; and the great towns in this country are not at all inferior in this respect to London or Paris; and whereas it would have been thought a great crime, some ages ago, for a man to spend more than his ordinary revenue; at present there are many ladies at the Hague, who lose in a winter more at cards than the whole annual revenue of their husbands estates.

There are no poor people to be seen in the streets or public places in this state; as there are few countries where there are better
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provisions made, by order of the government, for all sorts of persons who are in want, and hospitals for diseased and aged people of all denominations; but the laws of this country are very severe against vagabonds and idle people, who demand charity to support themselves in indolence.

These people generally harbour slow and long resentments; indeed all their appetites and passions seem to run lower and cooler in this country than in any other part of Europe that I have seen; if we except avarice, which seems to be the great vice that predominates here, and to which all others are subordinate. They seldom enter into quarrels with each other; a sudden stroke of revenge is very rarely heard of, and jealousy seems to be an exotic in this climate.

Their constitutions are not warm enough for love, nor their tempers airy enough for jovial pleasures: however the ladies in this country, of late years, have endeavoured to change some of their ancient customs, and to shew mankind that they had made a greater progress in the art of love than their husbands; but whether this be owing to that natural levity which is peculiar to the sex, or to the great desire they have to adopt the fashions of other countries, I shall not pretend to determine.

The same humidity of the air may likewise incline them to the customs of drinking, and smoking tobacco, which are in general usage here almost among all ranks of people: I am in some measure of their opinion, that when these things are moderately used, they contribute much to their health, considering the little vivacity which they have, in the midst of such a thick foggy atmosphere, and where there is such a coldness of temper
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and constitution. It is true the use or excess of wine and tobacco greatly impair men's abilities, who are of warmer constitutions, and who live in a drier climate; because wine and tobacco to such constitutions, and where there is a natural vivacity, are extremely prejudicial, being like oil to fire; but, on the other hand, where the vibrations of the nerves are very slow, such a stimulus may be necessary to move the inactive spirits, to refine the grosser imaginations, and to enliven the man.

The people of this country appropriate the evening to whatever they find will amuse them; and indeed as they spend all the morning in the thought, care, and toil of their business, it is but necessary that they should have the evening to unbend and relax the animal powers, for otherwise nature could not support such constant labour of body and application of mind.

I have already observed that the common people in this country are extremely vicious, and though they are dull and slow in their motions, when they are roused are cruel and barbarous: nothing is more dangerous than a mob or a riot in this country, which is generally attended with some fatal consequences, and often with acts of barbarity.

The ideas of avarice and selfishness which all ranks of people in this republic receive in their infancy, make them appear very disagreeable to foreigners who think more liberally; and they are so little upon their guard, that an observer may read their very thoughts in their countenance, which will always make much to the disadvantage of a commercial people.

The people in general in this country do not attain such longevity as in the other parts of Europe, especially in Holland and Zealand, and both sexes begin to decay early; at least 10 years sooner than in England or France. The predominating diseases of this climate seem to be stubborn intermitting and remitting fevers of all kinds; the rheumatism, gout, and scurvy; and when the summers are very hot and dry, they produce putrid fevers, which are of the most dangerous kind: nervous disorders are not so common in this country; though, when we meet with a person here and there, who has irritable fibres, symptoms of this class of disorders are sometimes observed, but they are not common.

There are not many men of genius at present in their universities, where the professors are for the most part Germans, whose genius for literature, taste, and the fine arts is far from being universally established: and all the tutors, who are employed to instruct their youth, are Swiss, a people who have not that vivacity and lively imagination that is necessary to inspire a cold and phlegmatic Hollander with agreeable ideas.

The flatness of this country exposes it not only to the danger of the sea in many places, but it is also liable to be overflowed from an increase of their great rivers, and from long and heavy rains; to guard against which dangers costs them yearly a sum equal to half the produce of the soil. There are many parts of Holland and Zealand where the sea and the waters in the great rivers and canals are several feet higher than the surface of the land, but they keep the latter dry by drains, and lift the water into the rivers and canals by windmills, taking particular care

to support the banks of the rivers and of the canals to prevent any sudden increase of their waters from overflowing the face of the country.

The support of the dikes is attended with an immense expence, particularly in the provinces of Holland and Zealand; and these people shew such industry and skill in this matter as I have never seen in any other part of the world.

All the people in this country, even the poorer sort, are remarkably clean and neat in their houses, which is occasioned, I apprehend, by the great quantity of almost stagnant waters with which this country is replete, and by the extreme moisture of the air; for, without the help of this custom, the province of Holland in particular would not be habitable by such multitudes of people; but the air, after every hot season, would be so corrupted as to expose the inhabitants to all kinds of putrid diseases, which indeed, as it is, they seldom escape in Amsterdam, Middleburg, and Leyden, where the waters have no current, so as to be renewed for two years together.

The predominating religion of this country is Calvinism, which is embraced by the bulk of the people, who are possessed of all the public churches in the dominions of this state, as it is also the avowed creed of all the ministers or pastors, who are paid by the government; for these have neither lands, nor tithes, nor any authorized contributions from the people; but certain salaries, which are paid by the state, from 6 or 700 to 2000 guilders a year; and in some provinces, if they marry and have children, they are allowed 100 guilders a year for every child; but they are wholly dependent upon the States. In all the great towns
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the service of the Calvinist church is performed, besides the language of the country, in the English, French, and German languages.

All the other sects of the reformed religion are tolerated and protected in this country. The Jews have likewise their synagogues in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The Roman Catholic religion alone was excepted at the first establishment of this government from the common protection of their laws, making men, as it was then believed, worse subjects than other religions, by the acknowledgment of a foreign and superior jurisdiction: moreover, those who professed this religion still seemed to have a desire to see the Spanish government restored into this country, which was then its great patron; but the States were so desirous to give all men liberty in this point, who desired no more than to serve God in their own way and forms, that what was not provided for by the constitution of their government, was so in a great degree by the connivance of their officers, who now suffer the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in their several jurisdictions as free and avowed as well as the rest; so that its professors at present seem to be a sound member of the state, and have never given any disturbance to the government, nor expressed any inclination to change. Indeed the great care of the States has ever been to favour no particular inquisition into the faith or religious principles of any peaceable good subject, who live under the protection of their laws, and to suffer no violence or oppression to be offered to any man's conscience, when his opinions or actions did not interfere with, or were of ill consequence to, the civil government of the state: as the foundation of their government was a contention for more liberty in religious mat-

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ters, they thought it the more unjust and unreasonable in them to endeavour to oppress others in matters of the same nature.

In most other parts of Europe we have heard of the greatest acts of violence, oppression, and persecution for more than 200 years past, on account of differences in religion; but since the first institution of this government, all these seem to be not only mitigated, but even totally extirpated from this country, by the general freedom which all men enjoy either by protection or toleration. Certain it is that the pretence of religion has been used, by factious and ambitious men, to cover their interested and seditious designs, which has cost the christian world so much blood; but in this federate republic, as no man has any reason to complain of being oppressed on account of his religious principles, and consequently has no hopes, by advancing his religion, to form a party or to break in upon the government, men live together like citizens of the world, their differences in opinion make none in affection; they are associated by the common ties of humanity and bonds of peace, under the impartial protection of the laws of the state, with equal encouragement to arts and industry, and equal freedom of speculation and enquiry. The Calvinist clergy are, in general, throughout this country, firm friends to the family of the prince of Orange; and, during the intermissions of the authority of stadtholder, took every method to express their affections to the princes of this house, without giving offence to the government as it was then established; they were always declared enemies to the antistadtholderian party, even from the beginning of the constitution of this state, from a supposition that their principles tended to favour oppression and the Roman Catholic religion.

C H A P. IV.

Observations upon the true Principles and Laws of COMMERCE.

TO treat at large of this extensive science would require whole volumes to express our common ideas of it; but as this work was not calculated for this purpose, I must content myself with laying down briefly some principles and laws, from which I think we may judge of, and conduct all, or almost all the operations of commerce.

First, Commerce is an operation by which the wealth or the productions of industry, either of individuals or of whole societies, may be exchanged through various channels, for an equivalent proper for supplying the wants and necessities of human life, without any interruption to the industrious or any check upon the consumer.

One of the principal characteristics of commerce is, that it tends to soften the manners of mankind, and to destroy particular and destructive prejudices: whenever commerce found its way into a country, the manners of the people, however brutal and savage they were before, became soft and gentle; and whenever a people becomes refined and polished, they are strongly inclined to be commercial. This science, it is true, refines the manners of mankind; but at the same time it corrupts them: it opens a door to all kinds of luxury, fraud, chicanery, and deceit. A commercial people are naturally fond of peace. Two nations which traffic together become thereby mutually dependent upon each other: it is for the interest of the one to sell, and of the other

other to buy : and thus are all unions founded upon the mutual wants of the parties united. But though the fundamental laws of commerce combine different nations, they have not that effect upon particulars : in nations the most commercial and polished we find the most of controversies and disputes. Hence therefore it is clear, that the laws of commerce produce in the heart of man certain sentiments of strict justice ; which are, on one side, opposed by deceit and fraud, and on the other, supported by the moral virtues ; thus stands the balance even. When self-interest however is placed in either scale, that will mightily preponderate ; and consequently it is not to be wondered, that what will so strongly turn the scale of human actions, will likewise furnish sufficient chicanery to throw a kind of varnish over every species of fraud, deceit, and unjust dealing.

Secondly, When a nation would traffic advantageously, she should have more merchandize to sell to those with whom she trades, than she receives from them ; and consequently she will naturally be entitled to a balance in specie. Indeed a considerable advantage may accrue to a nation from a trade, when the balance is equal, as it produces a circulation of her natural productions and manufactures, encourages industry, and tends to her natural interest, as well as to that of the nation with whom she is thus connected in commerce ; as the strength and riches of a state will depend not altogether upon the quantity of the gold and silver which is hoarded up, or in circulation, but likewise upon the number of industrious inhabitants employed in agriculture, manufactures, and navigation. No nation can long support a commerce wherein she buys and consumes a greater quantity of merchandize than she sells ; for, in such a case, she must have a balance in specie against her, become indebted

debted for such balance, and at length be finally ruined: it is therefore an unpardonable conduct in those who consume above what their own territory produces. Such a national bankruptcy will likewise tend much to the disadvantage of the other nations with whom she has been in commerce; as the bankruptcy of a great merchant will to that of his creditors or manufacturers; for they not only lose the balance which was due to them, but they lose likewise a market for the sale of their merchandizes; and as the consumption of them diminishes, their value will likewise diminish; and the quantity produced, the number of those who are employed therein, and the value of their lands, must likewise diminish proportionally. Hence therefore it will follow, that all such civil laws as are made by any state to prohibit totally all branches of commerce, or to confine them to the subjects of the same state, are contrary to the laws of nature, destructive of industry, and dangerous in themselves.

When reciprocal wants are supplied only from an exchange of merchandize, there is very little occasion for money, and yet industry is supported. A native of the coast of Hudson's Bay would not be so industrious in hunting the wild beasts, were it not that he finds their skins will procure him, in barter, several kinds of European manufactures, of which at present he finds himself in want. But when the wants of mankind are multiplied, bartering will become more difficult, so that money must be introduced, which is the common standard of all things.

The inhabitants of every nation should consult nature in order to know upon what branches of commerce they may advantageously enter: she favours every climate with different productions, and consequently indicates to those who inhabit in it, that
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if they would promote their interest in the highest degree, it should be with the superfluity of their natural productions, and with those branches of manufacture for which their inhabitants are best calculated, that they should make the basis of their foreign commerce: it would be as absurd for Russia to make fruit and wines the objects of her commerce, as for Spain and Italy to make furs, fir-timber, and hemp the objects of theirs.

Thirdly, The exchange of such commodities as are necessary for the support of life, between states which are equally increasing, cannot make a constant commerce, but must frequently pass from active to passive, according to the abundance or scarcity of such commodities. If a nation should consume so much of her productions as should prevent the former, and give rise to the latter, she should charge it as a debt upon the soil; for the sums which her productions at one time produce more than are necessary for her support, are only to be regarded as a deposit to make restitution for what another time may produce less than are necessary for that purpose. But the case is not the same with respect to the particular productions of one climate, whose superfluities are equal to so much money to buy those of others; this commerce is independent and sure. Small crops will compensate, by the high price which they produce, the default of their abundance; and will consequently procure very near the same quantity of goods from other States for consumption. It therefore requires very little penetration to discover, that the first great object of every nation should be to increase the cultivation of her natural productions as much as possible, which will always be a sure fund for her to go to market and purchase the productions of her neighbouring States.

Fourthly, That she should afterwards endeavour to naturalize in her own territories as many of the productions of foreign states as her climate and other circumstances will admit, every one of which will be at least the means of bringing a balance of trade in her favour, equal to the sums she expended for such an article. However it should be well weighed, whether such foreign state is able to buy more and sell less than she has been accustomed to do, and continue on the same degree of commerce, with the payment of a balance in specie; and likewise whether the growth of such new production would not cost more than the importation of it from other countries; that is, whether the culture of it would not occupy more land, and employ more labourers, than what was sold to purchase it would occupy, because of the unfavourableness of the climate or of the soil for that purpose: if so, it is by no means for the interest of the inhabitants of any country to cultivate such foreign productions. But if such expence should be considerably less than that for which such production can be imported, or even if the price is equal, it is highly advantageous for a nation to pursue such a measure. In the former case, the difference between the one and the other will be so much clear gain to the nation, besides promoting industry, and of course circulating among her inhabitants; and, in the latter case, besides giving such encouragement for industry, she will at least gain an independence in time of war, which is often so fatal to commerce.

Fifthly, Though it is for the interest of every state to cultivate in her own territories as many foreign natural productions as possible, and to acquire as many manufactures as she has manufacturers to employ in them, when such culture or such manufactures will be less costly, or equally so with what she im-

ported from foreign states; yet it will not follow from thence, as some authors have observed, that a great exterior commerce is a proof of a climate being unfavourable, or of a great interior misery in the state: for there is no state, however favourable her climate may be, or however numerous and ingenious her inhabitants are, that is capable of producing the natural productions of the different parts of the globe, nor even a tenth part of the different manufactures that are found among mankind; and consequently in an age when the industry of mankind is very great, and their wants proportionally increased, an extensive foreign commerce is only necessary for the sale of the surplus of the natural productions and manufactures of any state, as are the produce of other distant states.

A climate that is temperate and favourable will be productive of a greater variety of natural productions and materials for manufactures than a climate that is in either extreme: such states therefore as are situated in climates that are extremely hot or extremely cold, are necessarily obliged to export the superfluity of their natural productions, as well as their manufactures, to procure from other states what the soil refuses them in their own; and the less their productions are valuable, the greater quantity of them must they give for those of which they are in want. The freight and the merchants profits of these exchanges will likewise make a real charge upon the consumption, and upon their revenue, especially when they are not the carriers themselves, and when their own subjects are not employed in them; and consequently an exterior commerce will be always more unfavourable to a state in such a situation, than to a state whose climate is more temperate, and to which nature has been more boun-

bountiful; supposing their subjects to be equally industrious and ingenious.

Sixthly, Nations situated in temperate climates have certainly the advantage of having almost every thing proper for the necessities of life, and for many of the superfluities, within themselves; and therefore whatever they import from other countries, in exchange for the surplus of their natural productions and manufactures, must be for providing superfluities. But when the inhabitants of such nations are very populous, and apply themselves strictly to agriculture and manufactures, there will be a necessity of their entering into a traffic with almost every foreign nation, and taking some of the superfluities of such foreign nations, to the end that the latter may be induced, in return, to take off the surplus of their natural productions and manufactures, which are the support of great numbers of their inhabitants; therefore so far are such nations from being hurt by having a superfluity of the productions of other nations, that it is the only means they have to promote circulation, industry, and consumption, consequently to enrich themselves by the labour and skill of their inhabitants.

Perhaps it may be observed, that this commerce of superfluities is the chief means which is productive of that luxury that has been found in all ages to be so destructive to mankind, and which alone has brought the greatest states to ruin. Luxury, either morally or physically speaking, is nothing more than a gratification of our senses and appetites; but while this gratification is not accompanied with any inconveniencies, certainly there can be no moral excess, nor any moral evil in it, though there may have been some luxury in the enjoyment of such

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superfluity.

superfluity. Luxury therefore can only be injurious to a state when it is carried to excess, and tends to corrupt the minds and manners of her inhabitants, makes them negligent in their duty, unfit to discharge it, and rapacious; and when foreign nations take advantage of such depravity of manners, and turn the strength of such a nation against herself.

Providing superfluities, with a view to a consumption, certainly comes within our ideas of luxury, but a vicious excess does not. The most virtuous and sober man may have his table provided with delicacies as well as the most vicious glutton; but no man can become luxurious, according to my ideas of luxury, without promoting a circulation of riches, and encouraging emulation and industry. Luxury consists in providing such things as are the objects of sensuality, so far as they are superfluous; sensuality consists in the actual enjoyment of such things; and excess is an abuse of such enjoyment. A state therefore may be luxurious from ostentation or vanity, or with a political view to encourage the consumption of her own manufactures, without having any inclination for sensuality, or any tendency to fall into excess.

Seventhly, It is impossible to prevent the inhabitants of a state which has accumulated great riches from running into great expences; all the sumptuary laws and restrictions have hitherto been without any effect in this case: indeed they are absurd, and even destructive of industry and circulation. It is the interest of a state which has a general commerce to favour a great consumption; but this consumption requires that the original value of the productions of foreign countries should be augmented as little as possible by the expence of carriage, and the profits of the carriers;

riers; and therefore such a state will at least always take care that such charge shall circulate among her inhabitants, who shall themselves be her carriers and merchants; except there is a very great balance of trade in her favour with such foreign nations from whence such productions are imported, and that such a claim would give umbrage to them, whose marine may probably be equal.

Eighthly, One of the first laws of commerce will be therefore to lessen the freight and merchants profits upon the importation of such commodities, as much as possible; because the great profits and emoluments of those agents of commerce will often greatly diminish the consumption, act contrary to the interest of commerce, and often destroy its operations: and the immense wealth which they often amass suddenly in it, so far from being a certain sign of its great prosperity, will clearly prove that it has much suffered, by being confined in too narrow a channel.

Ninthly, Whenever any state grants a protection with exclusive privileges to any particular merchants, to carry on a distinctive trade, except such commerce be in its infancy, or be attended with very particular circumstances, it will tend to destroy the general commerce of the state. Commerce, strictly speaking, is as it were an example given, which all the world may and are obliged to follow: in making its operations more complex we gain nothing, but force others to do the same thing.

Giving particular gratifications and exclusive privileges will not tend to lower the price of the commodities imported, but the contrary; whereas, from a competition, the more the importers are, the cheaper are the markets.

Tenthly,

Tenthly, When a free and equal concurrence moderates the benefits of commerce to a just and equitable rate, and disperses the treasures of a monopoly, those who accumulated such treasure, regarding themselves as a part of the body of the nation, suppose that the nation loses all that they have ceased to gain; but their supposition is not at all well founded: the calculation of the damages which they think they have sustained is infinitely less than the wrongs which they did to commerce, by destroying, from the want of that natural concurrence which is found among buyers, the industry of the inhabitants, lowering the price of such commodities as pass through their hands for exportation, and decreasing the consumption of them in foreign markets, from the excessive profits which they make in reselling them in those parts; as well as from the excessive price which they lay upon all such goods as they import: and consequently any calculation of the damages which they may have sustained, will not give any idea of the least part of the advantages which the state will receive from a new regulation of commerce, by the general concurrence of individuals.

Eleventhly, When any branch of commerce passes through a great number of hands, it will not only be continually diminishing, but the objects of it will be so much the more enhanced in their price; therefore, if it is possible, all the objects of consumption should pass immediately from the hand who cultivates, or fabricates them to the consumers; which would render the commerce much more extended, and much more profitable.

Twelfthly, Commerce is not only a method of making the inhabitants of one state enjoy the natural productions of all other states; but where a state, by the fertility of her soil, or the industry

dustry of her inhabitants, produces more than is sufficient to supply her wants and consumption, an accumulation of riches must be the consequence. Besides the circulation which such a trade produces, it increases industry, and gives bread to a great number of poor people, who would otherwise be deprived of a support. In what light then should we regard the writings of those authors, who say that the operations of commerce are sterile in themselves, and do not even give subsistence to those who are employed in them? the great benefits of it to mankind are demonstrated by the immense number of manufacturers and artificers, and others who are employed and supported by it.

Thirteenthly, When the principal citizens of any state consume the productions of foreign countries, in preference to those of their own, and thereby injure or perhaps destroy the cultivation or fabrication of the latter, they do an unspeakable injury not only to the society or state to which they belong, but to themselves: they weaken and impoverish their own nation, by discouraging the industry of her manufacturers and artists, and by sending abroad her specie to enrich her neighbours; they injure themselves by paying dearer for such productions than the price for which they could purchase them at home, and by depriving their fellow citizens of a sum of money, which in the course of circulation would return to them again: not to mention that they are taking away the bread from a great number of their poor citizens, whom the laws of humanity have ordered them to nourish.

But these are not the greatest evils that will flow from this: their example will make the inferior classes of people not only prefer these foreign productions, but, to procure them, will sell their

their own at a much less price ; supposing them to be inferior in quality, since their superiors give the preference to those of foreigners.

Fourteenthly, Many speculative people have observed, that it would be fatal to a state, if her commerce had procured her a great balance of specie at the expence of her neighbouring states, as this would be a proof that she had greatly weakened and exhausted them ; and, as she could not circulate such an augmentation of specie, it would be useless to her, seeing that she could not thereby increase her productions ; and the more she weakened and exhausted such foreign powers, with which she was in traffic, the less they would be able to take of her productions in future. From this plausible reasoning therefore, as they deemed it, they concluded, that commerce well understood should be carried on without any balance of specie, or at least with a very small one ; seeing that the result of all her operations ought to be an equality.

This method of reasoning, and the conclusions drawn from it, may be plausible, but they are not just.

In the early ages of the world, when the wants of mankind were few, and when the use of money was not known, commerce was carried on in this manner ; but in later ages, when a knowledge of the different parts of the globe and of their productions has increased the wants, whether real or imaginary, of the human species, a commerce merely by barter would by no means be effectual to promote a circulation, and to give due encouragement to the industrious. One state, for instance, sends a quantity of her natural productions or manufactured goods to
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another, of which the latter, from particular circumstances, may be at that time absolutely in want, but has not enough of the surplus of her own productions to pay the former in barter; and may not perhaps for two or three years have a balance suitable for the market of the former; but she has specie to pay for such merchandizes. What sin is it then against the laws of commerce to receive such a balance in specie, when, according to the natural order of things, part of it will return again to the latter state, perhaps in the course of the following year? or how should the former state pay her manufacturers, artizans, or labourers, if she had not such a circulation in specie? A manufacturer wants shoes, stockings, or hats, and many other necessaries, which the master has not to supply him with; how is he then to procure such necessaries without specie? Common experience teaches us that a quick circulation of money is the chief incentive to industry: how then is an industrious mercantile state to support her manufacturers and to carry on her commerce without such a circulation? Or how can she have such a circulation, if she has not some balance of trade in her favour? No prudent nation will ever suffer a greater quantity of specie to remain in circulation than is necessary for carrying on her commerce; and if the balance of trade in her favour procures her more than is necessary for that purpose, she may find a secure means of lending it to such neighbouring states as are in want: indeed no prudent state will suffer such a balance in specie to be paid yearly to any foreign power for her natural productions or manufactures as will tend greatly to the enriching of such power, except she has mines, or some other great avenues, to let in a constant supply of specie for her circulation; or except she is absolutely in want of such natural productions or manufactures for other purposes.

Fifteenthly, The productions of mines make but a branch of commerce, any more than other natural productions; and will depend upon the same principles with the other branches of commerce. Nations which are in possession of mines of the precious metals will soon bring themselves to ruin, if they retain more of these metals in circulation than is necessary to support their commerce, a surplus would raise the price of every other thing so very high, that other nations could buy nothing of them; but, on the contrary, would furnish all the foreign markets at a much lower price than they could; whereby all their other natural productions and manufactures would be ruined, and their industrious manufacturers and poor either reduced to beggary or forced to seek support in other states; and consequently they would sacrifice the true riches of the state for what were only the signs of them. A nation that has mines should regard the production of such mines as the other productions of the earth, with this difference only, that she should exchange the latter before the former, and make the former always subservient to the latter, and useful only to forward their operations. The same reason which ought to engage a state not to augment every year the quantity of her circulating specie, because of the general dearth of her commodities which it would create, would likewise be a law for other states not to sell their commodities to her but at a proportionable value.

The produce of the agriculture of every state, and the productions of the labour of her manufacturers and artisans, estimated by the general value of such productions, is the true value of her greatest revenue.

Sixteenthly,

Sixteenthly, The prices of all kinds of goods, and even of the common necessaries of life, in every state, will be in proportion to the demand there is for them, and to the quantity of money that circulates in such a state. The standard price of subsistence, and even of all kinds of goods, in a state will be always determined from the number of those who are obliged to buy, and from the abilities of such buyers. The number of the buyers of the necessaries of life will nearly determine the quantity that is to be sold; because they must be provided in a determined proportion to every one, and the frequency of such a sale will regulate the price; the standard of which, I apprehend, will be determined by the quantity of money which those buyers, or the greatest number of them, in which we may rank the common people, have to dispose of: and this is the reason why provisions can never rise above a certain price; for when it exceeds the powers of the lower classes of people (who in fact are the bulk of the inhabitants in a state) their demand must be withdrawn, and the market will be left only for the consumption of the rich; which, if it is overstocked, must immediately reduce the price. The demand there is for the productions of the labour of those who work for the necessaries of life, must, in all trading nations, determine the standard value of such labour; and consequently the standard value of subsistence; and how much this is influenced by the quantity of money in circulation, I need not pretend to explain.

A great quantity of money in a nation will not of itself augment the prices of things, as some authors * have observed; neither will the complicated operation of competition and de-

* Montesquieu and Hume.

mand alone, without a sufficient sum of money in circulation, at all affect the prices of commodities, as another ingenious modern author † thinks. The two first of these authors are of opinion that the prices of all kinds of commodities in a state are always in proportion to the plenty of money there is in it; and consequently that the augmentation of such wealth, by paper or any fictitious money, will affect the prices of such commodities in proportion to its quantity: and secondly, that the quantity of money in a country is the representative of all the labour and commodities that are in it; so that, in proportion as this is increased or diminished, there will go a greater quantity of the things represented, i. e. the labour and commodities to the same quantity of it; therefore an increase of such commodities and labour will make them cheaper, and an increase of their representative, the money, will make them dearer.

The other author is of the opinion, that it is the complicated operation of demand and competition which determines the standard price of every thing: a state may have a very great quantity of additional coin thrown into it, if such coin is locked up, or falls into the hands of those who have no desire to use it, and does not come into circulation, without in the least affecting the prices of labour or the commodities of such state, if there is not, at the same time, an increased demand for them. If an artificer, for example, has some of the finest things that art can produce, and attempts to sell them in a country where there is ever so great a quantity of gold and silver, he must regulate the price of them from the demand there is for such things; but on the other hand, if all the inhabitants of the country have a de-

† Sir James Stewart.

fire to acquire such commodities, and even enter into a competition who shall possess them, yet his laying a very high price upon them will not at all answer his purpose, if they have not a sufficient sum of money to pay for them: hence, therefore, I think we may justly conclude, that if there is ever so great a quantity of money in a state, without any desire in the inhabitants to circulate it; or, if these inhabitants are ever so luxurious, or so fond of purchasing all kinds of commodities, and even of entering into a competition with each other, if they have not money in proportion to their desires, neither of these causes will be sufficient to raise the price of the commodities and labour in such a state: but where there is a great plenty of circulating money, and at the same time where the demand is great, and a desire in the inhabitants to enter into a competition with each other, the prices of labour, and of all the commodities in such a state, must unavoidably rise. And again, if the inhabitants of such country who should be found in possession of almost all the exportable necessaries of life, and of many kinds of manufactures which are demanded in foreign markets, would export such commodities into other countries where they could get the best price, instead of selling them at home, they would make the price of them rise excessively, far beyond the value of the circulating money in their own country.

Seventeenthly, The commerce of every state will be found to have a great affinity with the government and constitution of such state. In a monarchical government commerce is generally founded upon the principles of luxury; its great object being to supply such a nation with those things which are conducive to her refinement, pride, and fancy. In a republican or mixed government commerce is generally founded upon the principles of
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œconomy; and as small republican states have seldom such a quantity of their own commodities to export into foreign parts as is sufficient to support their commerce, their merchants have their eyes upon the productions of every part of the earth, and export from one part what they import from another.

Almost all the republican states, of which history has given us any account, have carried on their commerce in this manner. The republics of Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Marseilles, Venice, Florence, Genoa, and even the Hollanders, pursued these œconomical maxims of commerce, which are founded upon the principles of making little gain, even less than any other nation in the same circumstances would make; but by making that gain constantly, and living with great frugality, they in the end accumulated great riches; which could not possibly be done by people who expended a great deal, and who had great objects in view. Therefore it has always been observed, that when states of this kind, which have been supported by an œconomical commerce, have entered upon great enterprizes, and attempted to enter into a competition with monarchies, it has generally ended in their destruction.

Eighteenthly, No merchant, or even company of merchants, will risque a great capital to enter into commerce, except they have some share in, or influence upon, the public affairs in the state where they reside. The operations of government in an absolute monarchy are always a terror to merchants, which prevents them from entering very deeply into commerce in such states where they imagine part or the whole of their property is in danger, by being subject to the will of one man, who perhaps will find it his interest to oppress them, and to lay heavier duties
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upon their trade than it is capable of bearing; whereas they think themselves perfectly secure in republican states: hence therefore, as it is impossible for the great operations of commerce to be carried on in an absolute monarchy, such operations will always be confined to republican, or at least to mixed governments; in such states merchants will run the greatest risks to advance trade and commerce, and to enrich themselves by it, because they are sure of what they have acquired; they run no risk but upon the means of acquiring it.

Nineteenthly, The oppression and tyranny of monarchies have been the means of establishing those republics and states which have been the most famous for commerce; when mankind have been constrained to seek for refuge in almost desert places, islands, and even on banks of the sea. Thus was Tyre, Venice, Amsterdam, and Middleburg founded, and there the unfortunate fugitives found themselves secure; but in order to subsist in them, they were under a necessity of drawing their subsistence from all parts of the world. England likewise is the receptacle of the oppressed traders of every part of Europe. Lewis the Fourteenth, by his tyranny and oppression, forced near 200,000 of his subjects, with all their property, arts, and manufactures, to take refuge in it; and every year we see several acts of parliament passed for the naturalization of foreign merchants. The security of property, and the excellency of the laws in this kingdom, make her the most desirable refuge in the world.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

*Of the Laws, Customs, and Policy of the UNITED PROVINCES,
respecting Trade, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

AS this rich and flourishing federate Republic has been raised to her present state of grandeur entirely by her trade, manufactures, and commerce, we might undoubtedly from thence alone conclude, that these have always been the principal objects of her policy: but this fact will more clearly appear, not only from the brief account which has already been given of the rise and increase of this state, but from what will be hereafter observed. I have already taken notice that great numbers of protestant merchants from Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, and many other places in the Low Countries, were forced to leave their habitations, and seek a refuge in the marshes of Holland and Zealand, against the persecutions of the Spanish government and the Romish inquisition; and they were the first who for a subsistence began to establish a commerce in these provinces, and contributed to shake the commerce of the great and beautiful towns of Brabant and Flanders.

But after the duke of Alva had employed every means to oppress and vex the Jews, who were in those days the most considerable merchants of the then flourishing town of Antwerp, and, after their patience had braved his tyranny, ordered them to quit this city, where almost all their effects and merchandize lay, within twice 24 hours, the towns of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, which were then in their infancy, received them joyfully; and as these places were out of the reach of persecution,
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and secured by nature from the approach of any hostile force, these Israelites took up their residence in them, and by the means of bills of exchange, till then unknown in the mercantile world, eluded the duke's intentions, which were to secure all their effects, and drew them there likewise. Their example was also followed by many others, who were persecuted by that tyrannical governor, so that those towns very soon began to flourish exceedingly, and established a great commerce upon the ruins of that of Antwerp and the other cities of Brabant and Flanders.

These persecuted people formed a new republican government among themselves; and at the same time that they enlarged their commerce, they enlarged and fortified their towns: so that all the merchants who were persecuted in the Seventeen Provinces, finding that their property would be here secure, that these towns were commodious, not only for a foreign trade, but also by the Rhine and the Maase, for an inland commerce, and that they were in fact a kind of asylum from oppression and tyranny, retired hither with all their effects; and, animated by the love of liberty, they resolved to brave all danger in their defence, and by their example to convince the world that industry and œconomy are the most certain roads to riches and power.

All mankind beheld with amazement these poor fishermen, the ancient inhabitants of those towns, and these distressed fugitives, who by their industry and care not only drew a comfortable subsistence for themselves from all parts of the world, but enlarged and beautified their towns, filling almost every part of the ocean with their ships and barks, thereby accumulating immense riches.

Their example, and the conduct of some of the chiefs of Holland and Zealand, animated not only all the towns in these provinces, but likewise five other provinces, to revolt from the Spanish yoke, and by their great industry, and the produce of the now extensive commerce of the inhabitants of Holland and Zealand, they were enabled to carry on a long and expensive war against the whole power of Spain; and, besides defending their own provinces, made considerable inroads upon those of their enemies; so that the court of Spain, tired with the obstinacy of these people, who were fighting in defence of their natural rights and property, and sensible that their great commerce would enable them to carry on the war for ages, at length invited them to enter into a negotiation of peace, treated them as a free republic, and guaranteed all the conquests that they had made.

As soon as these industrious republicans saw themselves at peace, their first great object, after establishing some new laws in favour of commerce, and in support of their liberties and unity at home, was to extend their commerce into foreign parts, and to encourage, as much as possible, the industry of their inhabitants. The States wisely considering that these provinces did not produce a sufficient quantity of the necessaries of life for the support of their inhabitants, who, from the liberty which they had acquired, and from the justice and equity of their new form of government, were continually increasing on account of the long civil wars of France, of Germany, and of England, and that great part of such subsistence must be drawn from distant parts, immediately took every necessary measure not only to favour commerce, by laying very low duties upon the importation and exportation of merchandizes, but to make it almost impossible for any person to support himself in their territories, except he was
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very rich, without great industry and care; and for this purpose they imposed heavy taxes upon all the necessaries of life, so that their prices were greatly increased to the consumer; and at the same time, as considerable sums of money were constantly flowing into the republic through the channel of commerce, they lowered the interest of money considerably; so that people of moderate fortune were, if I may use the expression, constrained to be frugal and industrious. Moreover, though these people in those days carried on the greatest part of the commerce of Europe, and consequently might have imposed their own prices upon many things, yet as there were many competitors in the different branches of commerce in their own country, fearing to give the alarm to other states, and thereby make them become the carriers of their own merchandize, they sold many articles for a very considerable profit, and often made foreigners wonder how they could bring them so cheap to market. However they had very politically taken their measures; as they soon perceived that to carry on such an oeconomical commerce as they were engaged in, they should frequently be in want of the merchandizes of one country to purchase those of another; and that it was sometimes necessary that they should be contented with very small gains from the one the better to quiet the suspicions of their neighbours, when they had the strongest hopes, or rather a certainty, of gaining very considerably from the others.

Thus when Holland carried on all the commerce of the Baltic sea, the produce and manufactures of England, and the wines and fruit of France and Spain, which she carried into this sea, served her not only to exchange in barter for the produce of the North, but gave a great balance of specie in her favour: moreover the merchants of Holland seem to have so well studied their

commercial interest, and had so much art to secure the advantages of it to themselves, that they pretended to sell many kinds of merchandize which came from distant parts for very little more than they cost upon the spot where they were produced, the better to lull mankind into an inactive state, and to make them believe that the profits of commerce were very inconsiderable. For instance, we will suppose a Hollander at St. Petersburg taking in a loading of hemp and flax, he will want a certain quantity of iron to balance his vessel; and if he was not to purchase iron for that purpose, he must take an equal quantity of stone or gravel for the same end; therefore, on his return, if he can sell his iron only for prime cost and the freight, he will be a gainer of the amount of that freight, as common ballast would be of no value: the same observation likewise might be made if he was taking in iron, and wanted some wood to fill up his vessel. Thus did the Hollanders make their profits upon the principal part of the cargo, and pretended to shew their disinterestedness in selling things, which they regarded as lumber, at a very low rate.

The invitation which the protestant merchants, who in those days were persecuted in most of the other states of Europe, had to fix in Holland, rather than in many better countries, seems to have at first contributed much to the strength and riches of their towns, which by the maritime situation, and the flatness of their country, can with their sluices overflow all the land about them to such distances as to prevent the approach of any land forces: and this natural strength has been so improved by several of the towns of Holland, particularly Amsterdam, as to make them impregnable to the forces of any state that is not master of the sea. If Lewis the Fourteenth, when he attacked the province

vince of Holland in the year 1672 and advanced towards Amsterdam, had not received early information of this matter, and retreated with great precipitation, within twelve hours his whole army had been destroyed.

The constitution of their government likewise has contributed not a little to increase their commercial interest, by which neither the States General nor the prince have any power to invade any man's person or property within the precincts of their cities; nor could it be supposed that the senate of any town should commit any such act of violence; but supposing they should be so disposed, they have no military force to carry their orders into execution, the burghers only being employed in the defence of their towns, and in the execution of all civil justice among them. These circumstances likewise gave great credit to the bank at Amsterdam; which, in the times of persecution, was another invitation for people to come and lodge in this place what part of their money they could transport, and knew no way of securing it at home: nor did these people only lodge money here who came into the country to reside, but many more who never left their habitation, though they prepared for a retreat or against a storm, thought no place so secure as this, nor from whence they might so easily draw their money into any part of the world.

But as this bank has contributed so much to increase the trade of Holland, and to make Amsterdam the center of it, and is famous for containing the greatest treasure, either real or imaginary, that there is known to be collected together in one mass in any part of the world, I shall proceed to give some account of it.

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The place which contains this great treasure is a vault under the stadthouse, made strong with all the apparatus of locks and bars and other apparent cautions of safety: there is certainly in this bank an appearance of great treasure, in bars of gold and silver, and plate; and almost innumerable bags of metals, which are supposed to be all gold and silver: in fact there ought to be all the treasure that it has received since its institution, as it gives out nothing but its credit; but this is a point which has been much disputed of late, many having affirmed, that though it does not pay orders drawn upon it in specie, and only by a transfer of credit upon its books, great sums of money are taken out of it for other purposes. The burgo-masters only have the inspection of this bank; and as no man takes any particular account of what comes in and goes out from age to age, it is impossible to make any calculation or conjecture, except by a minute inspection of the books, in what proportion the real treasure may be to the credit of it. The security therefore of this bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, which, I think, at a moderate computation will amount to sixteen or eighteen millions of pounds sterling, but in the credit of the whole town or state of Amsterdam, the inhabitants of which being bound to make good all monies that are brought into their bank: the bills of this bank make all the great payments that are made between the merchants of this town, and in most other parts of the United Provinces; and very often considerable orders are made upon it from many other parts of the world. So that this system of treasure is properly a general deposit, where every man lodges his money, because he esteems it safer than if it were in his coffers at home; and so far is the bank from paying any interest for what is brought in, that the owner, if he do not choose to have his name entered upon the bank books for so much credit, may have the
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very identical bags which he delivered in, marked and numbered, whenever he chooses to call for them, on paying so much per month for their lying there in safety: but when he chooses to have his name entered upon the books for so much credit, this bank money is worth more in common payments than the common current coin in the state; as no other money passes in the bank but such coins as are well known, and whose nominal value very little surpasses their intrinsic value.

The bank has conducted very much to increase the commerce of this great city, and as it were to fix it here, for no person in trade will remove from a place where his treasure is deposited, and where he has such bank credit, to another place where this credit is not so well known, and where the use of it would be attended with great difficulties.

Moreover, a bank which is under the direction of a company of merchants in a popular government, is certainly much better secured than a bank established in an absolute monarchy can possibly be.

A rich bank established in such a state, would be to suppose the money on one side and the power on the other; or properly speaking, on one side the means to have every thing without any power; and on the other, the power without the means; and in such a government as this, it is impossible to accumulate an excessive treasure without its being very soon the treasure of the prince. This will likewise verify the observation which I have already made, that an absolute government will always be the destruction of a great commerce; and that companies of merchants, who would carry on a great and extensive trade, seldom,
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if ever, establish themselves under such a species of government; for it is the nature of these companies to give to the riches of individuals the power and force of the riches of the public: but in a government of this kind, the power can only be in the hands of the prince.

Another means that has very much contributed to increase the commercial interest of this country is, that great principle of their state, which from the beginning has run through all their provinces and cities, to make their country the common refuge of all persecuted and miserable men; from whose protection no alliances, treaties, or interests, have ever been able to divert or remove them: so that, notwithstanding the great dependence this state had upon France and England, during the time of their intestine commotions, when party rage ran high, the banished, or as they thought persecuted, of both parties made this country their common asylum; nor could the States ever be prevailed with, by any instances of the respective ambassadors of those courts, to refuse them the use and liberty of common life and air under the protection of their government.

This firmness in the government has been one of the circumstances that has invited so many unhappy men, out of all their neighbouring states, to shelter themselves from the blows of justice or of fortune: when a stranger has acquired the title of burgher in any of their cities, he can only be judged by the laws and customs of such city.

But I cannot forbear observing on the other hand, that many parts of the civil laws and internal policy of Holland, respecting commerce, are very imperfect, and in some instances oppressive,

particularly

particularly the bankrupt laws, which are not sufficient to privilege the fair trader from the fraud and villainy of ill-disposed persons, but prevent him from taking such means to recover his property as even the laws of nature would dictate: and what is still more wonderful, whenever their courts of judicature find any imperfection in their own laws, in the decision of any matter, they have recourse to the decisions of the Roman laws in parallel cases; laws made for the government of a state, which was the very reverse of those of the republic of the United Provinces. However, considering the great imperfection of their laws, the administration of justice is very properly and impartially carried on in this state: but from this imperfection alone, many fair traders are greatly oppressed.

The liberty of conscience in religious matters, which they allow to all foreigners who come and settle among them, does not a little contribute to draw great numbers of merchants into this state; and as soon as a foreigner is become a burgher of any of their great towns, his person and property are secure from arrests till he be convicted by due course of law, and he is equally entitled to be a member of the government with any of the most antient burghers. Hence it is that we see one third part of the inhabitants of the province of Holland foreigners, or the descendants of foreign families, and many of them in the chief places of trust in the province. It is property here that gives a person power; and when a merchant of a good character has enriched himself by commerce, he becomes as it were entitled to a share of the legislative authority.

It has been observed, that when such a security as the above-mentioned is given to the persons and effects of merchants and

traders, it is often injurious to trade in general, and many take advantage from it to commit all kinds of fraud and deceit: for as merchants are often obliged to entrust great sums of money, for a short time, to the hands of others, and perhaps to draw it out and replace it often, if the debtor were not constrained to fulfill his engagements by the arrest of his person, he might otherwise neglect them, and the creditor might be ruined in consequence of such neglect.

I must again repeat, what I have observed before, that the laws of Holland are very imperfect in many particulars, of which this I have just now mentioned is one.

Certainly it is doing a man a great injustice to make him wait the tedious decisions of a court of justice to recover his money, when securing the person of the debtor by an arrest would have answered the same end; and when perhaps, for want of such a measure, the creditor by being deprived of his money must become a bankrupt. But on the other hand, the laws of Holland, thus favourable to debtors, have made her commercial towns as a kind of refuge to many half-broken merchants, who have fled there from other states; and, by purchasing the privileges of a burgher, have acquired time to recover themselves and to settle their affairs; and, by their future industry, have re-established their fortunes and credit. Hence, therefore, this lenity of the laws of Holland, with respect to debtors, has not a little contributed to draw many foreign merchants into this country, and has considerably increased its commercial interest. In all affairs which arise from ordinary civil contracts the laws ought not to allow arresting the person, because such a power might be often vexatiously applied, and the laws should regard

regard the liberty of one citizen to be of more moment than to gratify the caprice, or rather revenge of another. But in all such contracts or conventions as are made for commercial matters, the laws ought to regard the good and interest of the public before the liberty of any individual. Indeed thus much must be said in favour of the ordinary courts of justice in the United Provinces, their processes are very short, and their decisions attended with very little formality, especially those which regard commercial matters. But, on the other hand, as great commerce introduces different kinds of people in a country, various kinds of property, and various means of acquiring it, and consequently a great variety of contracts and conventions, almost every day's experience in their courts points out the imperfections of their original laws (of which, by the way, they are very tenacious, and by no means fond of altering) forces them to have recourse to the Roman laws, which are diametrically opposite to those of a commercial state, or leaves the matter to the arbitrary decision of judges; many of whom perhaps are totally unacquainted with the branch of commerce on which the contracts or conventions are founded; and therefore however upright those judges may be in their characters, their decisions must be very imperfect, and sometimes unjust.

Having pointed out some of the principal means which have constituted the great foundations of their trade by the multitude of their people, and which have planted and established industry among them, I shall proceed to enumerate very briefly several circumstances that seem to have given not only advancement and encouragement to trade in this country, but also which have undoubtedly co-operated to fix it here.

First, When a merchant has gained a considerable fortune in this country, and has placed it in their public funds, which are very considerable, or in a landed estate, and afterwards resolves to remove into a foreign country, he cannot draw his money out of such funds, or sell his estate, without losing considerably, from a tax of six per cent. and in some cases of ten per cent. which the States have laid upon all transfers and alienations of property that are made in this country, and consequently, except the occasion is very pressing, people are not much disposed to draw out their property from this state, when it is once fixed there.

Secondly, Low interest and dearness of land are the cause that there is always plenty of money ready for all projects from which gain may be expected, and for all new essays in trade which are proposed with any probability of advantage; the sale by registry likewise, which makes all purchases safe, greatly contributes to the stability of their trade and government.

Thirdly, The strictness of justice in all criminal cases, particularly against thefts, counterfeits of all public bills, which are capital in this country, and cheats; and even against all vagabonds and common beggars, who are distributed either into workhouses or hospitals, as they are fit or unfit for labour.

Fourthly, The lowness of the duties upon importation and exportation, and the easiness of paying them, invite both strangers and natives to bring great quantities of merchandize here, not only as to a market but as to a great magazine, where they may be lodged till they are demanded for other markets; so that in fact Amsterdam and Rotterdam are at present filled with the
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natural commodities and manufactured goods of every part of the whole world.

Fifthly, Order and exactness in managing their trade, and in keeping up the credit of their commodities in foreign markets; this was first introduced by very severe laws and penalties, but is since grown into custom: there has been no less than three and thirty placarts or orders of the government about the manner of pickling, preserving, and barrelling herrings.

Sixthly, Their situation for inland commerce, and the natural security of their great magazines of merchandize from any hostile attempt by sea or land. All the western parts of Germany are furnished with merchandizes, and the greatest part of their materials for manufacture from Amsterdam or Rotterdam, by the Rhine and by the Maase; and it would be a very difficult matter for any foreign power to attack either of these cities, particularly Amsterdam, by sea or land; they can overflow the country so that no army can approach them by land, and no large ship can pass the Texel or the Maase without the greatest danger, except she is conducted by a pilot of this country; even then, if she exceed a certain burthen, and be not built in this country, and have a flat bottom, the pilot will not undertake to bring her up either of these passages. There is no part of the Texel where the water is above twenty feet deep in the middle of the channel, and that channel runs in a serpentine form through a passage which is not above a league over, and is in many places not 100 feet wide: if a ship by any accident is forced out of this channel, or the pilot does not conduct her properly, she is immediately aground upon a sand-bank in eight or ten feet of water, and sometimes not so much: hence the reason why all
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the large ships which are built to trade to those cities are built with flat bottoms, and to draw as little water as possible in proportion to their bulk.

The Maase is in many respects even worse than the Texel; but as all the large ships of this country are calculated to draw as little water as possible, and as all the pilots upon the coasts of Holland are first carefully examined, and afterwards sworn to do their duty, for which they are very well paid, we very rarely hear that any accident happens through these means.

It will be seen clearly from what has been said, that the great trade of this country was not the effect of common contrivances, of natural dispositions, or of situation, but of such a great concurrence of circumstances, order, and method, as perhaps never before met in the world together.

This country was never famous for her manufactures, of which the inhabitants have not the one third of what are sufficient for their own consumption. The fine cloth of Leyden and Utrecht has always supported its character; but lately, from the high price of labour in these towns, this cloth is become dearer, in proportion to its breadth, than the English superfine cloth, and the greatest part of it is exported for foreign markets, whilst all the common people, and the greatest part of their troops, are clothed with the English manufactures from Yorkshire, and those of Aix la Chapelle and Vervier.

The manufacture of paper is in a very flourishing state in Holland, of which they export great quantities into foreign parts, and with considerable advantage.

The Delph^t porcelaine manufacture is very inconsiderable at present; these people likewise form a considerable commerce with the linens of Cleves and Juliers, which are bleached at Haarlem, and sold as Dutch linens: indeed before the manufactures of linen in Ireland and Scotland were brought to the great perfection that they are in at present, this branch of trade was very considerable.

The madder of Zealand, and of some other parts of these provinces, is one of their most profitable articles of commerce; and, except what has been cultivated lately in England, they furnish all the foreign markets with it upon their own terms, and thereby it becomes a certain source of wealth to the farmers and landholders of this country.

The high price of provisions and of all the necessaries of life will prevent the people from ever succeeding in any great and extensive manufactures, though the country is overstocked with inhabitants; so that, in so small an extent of territory as the Seven United Provinces, it is calculated that there are full 2,000,000 of people: but then, on the other hand, there are not provisions enough raised in this country for one quarter part of those people, and therefore the remainder must be imported, and sometimes at a great expence, from other states; besides the high duties and excises which are laid upon the consumption of all the common necessaries of life. The consumer must pay between fifty and sixty per cent. upon the prime cost, by different excises and importation duties, for all the grain which is imported into this country to make bread, before he can eat this bread; and beef and mutton cannot be eaten in any part of the Seven Provinces before the consumer pays between one penny and

and three halfpence per pound to the excise: every other necessary of life is taxed in proportion. Some years ago the Magistrates of Amsterdam had agreed to lay a considerable tax upon the potatoes that were imported into this city for consumption, these being the only articles that were consumed here on which there was not a considerable tax; but it being represented to that venerable body, that potatoes were chiefly consumed by the poor people, and become a considerable part of their nourishment, and that there were 30,000 of this class of people in Amsterdam, who could not get above three stivers a day, and were nourished by this root, and if a tax was laid upon potatoes they must starve, the magistrates thought proper to desist from their design, and potatoes are not taxed. The ancient by-laws and customs of the particular corporations in the Seven Provinces, and the restraint that artizans and manufacturers are laid under by these, are a great check in regard to drawing ingenious foreigners among them, and to the increase and improvements of such arts and manufactures; and hence it is, that though Holland carries on such an immense commerce, she is so much behind many other states in the common improvements of the useful arts and manufactures.

Again, the trade and riches of this state have been considerably augmented by the Herring and Greenland fisheries, which not only employ a multitude of seamen, but furnish them with articles of commerce which are demanded in almost all the markets of Europe: they pickle and preserve their herrings in a manner infinitely superior to the Danes, Swedes, or Norwegians, and they are always sure of finding a market for them, even in the North, in preference to those of any other state. Nor is this branch of the fishing trade more beneficial or of greater public utility

utility than the cod and turbot fishery upon the coasts of England and Scotland; all the inhabitants upon the sea coasts of Holland and Zealand are more or less concerned in this fishery; and upon a moderate calculation the city of London alone pays these people 130 pounds sterling every year, for the turbot, cod, plaice, &c. which they furnish here; what then must the whole fishery produce to them?

The exclusive commerce which this people have of the East India spicery, and the regulations which they have made both in India and Europe relating to it, must likewise be a constant source of treasure to them. As a brief account of these regulations will not be disagreeable to many of my readers, I will here state them.

After the inhabitants of this state had driven the Portuguese out of their settlements, and by a series of wars and victories against the natives, not only forced them into treaties of commerce, exclusive of all other nations, but to the admission of forts to be built upon such straights and passes as command the entrance into the traffic of such places, they proceeded to secure a monopoly of all the spice trade in those seas, and to establish a power sufficient to support themselves in them against any other state in the world. This has been achieved by the multitudes of their people, who have furnished out every year such a number of great ships, and supplied the loss of so many lives as the changes of climates have destroyed before they learnt the method of living in those parts; and by the conduct of the East India company, who have raised a state in the East Indies, governed indeed by officers appointed by the Company, but appearing to those little nations in their neighbourhood like a sove-

reign state, making war and peace with their kings, and able to bring twenty or thirty men of war to sea, and 20,000 men by land into the field; so that they keep all those little princes in subjection to them.

From a long experience in this trade they have acquired a pretty exact knowledge of the quantity of each kind of spice that will be necessary for the consumption of the European markets; so that their East India company give particular orders, that no more shall be imported into Europe than is sufficient for such consumption; and if at their common sales it appears that any part of what was imported remains unsold, at the price they fix upon it, they order it to be burnt immediately; so that the prices of those commodities are kept up to whatever height they shall think proper, and no other power can enter into a competition with them in this branch of trade, nor into the trade of Japan, of which they have likewise a monopoly, and an exclusive treaty of commerce with the emperor.

These articles of commerce, and the herrings, besides what they produce in England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Germany, make them great masters of the trade in the northern parts of Europe, as Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Dantzic, Pomerania, and all the Baltic; where the spices in particular, though they are an Indian drug, are esteemed a great luxury, and command all the commodities of those countries, which are as necessary to the inhabitants of these provinces, as their grain, their hemp, flax, iron, pitch, tar, masts, planks, &c.

As these people have no great colonies and settlements in the West Indies, they have wisely established a free port in those seas;

seas; not only as a magazine to smuggle all kinds of European goods into the English, French, and Spanish settlements, but for receiving all the superfluities of the produce of these colonies; from whence they are imported into Europe as the produce of their own little colonies. The low priced coffee, cocoa, cotton, and in fact all the productions of the West India islands, as well as of Surinam, find their way into Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and from thence are sent into Westphalia, and indeed into all the western parts of Germany, where they are sold to a considerable advantage.

Their trade to Turkey and the Levant seems at first sight to be considerably against them; but when we consider that they carry there a considerable quantity of their fine Leyden cloth, and import from thence chiefly the rough materials for the European manufactures, and very little for their own consumption, it will be seen that this branch of trade turns likewise considerably to their advantage.

They have ever carried on a great trade with England, and from the great balance in specie which has always been against them, it might be concluded, that they had been considerable losers by it: in the year 1700 we find that the exports from England to Holland were for 1765951l. 1s. 2d. and the imports from Holland were only 527072l. 6s. 2½d. So that the balance in favour of England was immense even in those days: in the year 1722, we find these exports amount to 2130396l. 6s. 6d. when the imports were only 561612l. 7s. 8d.

In the year 1765 we find these exports 2026772l. and the imports 420273l. and as they consisted chiefly of the

natural productions and manufactures of England, mankind may be led to conclude, that the draining this country yearly of such immense sums in balance of trade must inevitably ruin her. But they who would reason in this manner must know very little of Holland; for never any country traded so much and consumed so little; they buy largely, but it is to sell again, either by improving the commodity, or at a better market. However it is no constant rule that trade procures riches, for there may be branches of trade which impoverish a state: the only and certain scale of riches, arising from a trade in a nation, is the proportion of what is exported for the use of foreign states, to what is imported for their own use: and the true ground of this proportion lies in the general industry and frugality of a people, or in the contrary of both. Industry will increase the native commodities either in the productions of the soil or in the manufactures of the country, and thereby raise the stock for exportation. Frugality will lessen the consumption of their own native as well as of foreign commodities, and consequently not only increase the exportation of the former, but abate the importation of the latter: for of all native commodities the less is consumed in a country the more there will be for exportation, there being no kind of commodity but will always find a market at some price or other, and those will always be masters of this market, who can afford to sell it the cheapest; so that an industrious and frugal people will gain great riches by selling at prices upon which the lazy and prodigal cannot live.

Another vulgar mistake respecting trade is, that the importation of foreign merchandizes, if purchased abroad with native commodities, and not with specie, does not make a nation the poorer; for whenever we reflect upon this matter, it will immediately

diately be discovered, that when a nation states her accompts with all the other nations she deals with, whatever the exportation wants in value to balance that of the importation with every foreign nation respectively, must of course be paid in specie.

The Hollanders have been the great proprietors of the Indian spices, of the silks of Persia and China, of the fine cotton manufactures of Indostan; but till very lately the common people wore plain woollen cloth, and lived on fish and roots: nay they sold all the finest of their Leyden cloths in Portugal, Turkey, Germany, and other foreign markets; and bought the coarse English cloth for their own wear: they sent the best of their own butter and cheese into foreign parts; and bought the cheapest out of Ireland and the north of England for their own use. None of the common people, nor even the rich traders, formerly changed their fashions; so that the men left off their cloaths only because they were worn out, and not because they were out of fashion: and by their great frugality, they secured such a balance of trade as brought them in annually immense riches.

Another great source of riches to the inhabitants of Holland is the exchange and banking business; the situation, credit, and correspondence of Amsterdam are so great, that three quarters of all the monies which are remitted from one state to another in Europe, as well in the mercantile as in other public affairs, pass through this city, and of course entitle her merchants to receive commissions on them; which, as these remittances are for immense sums, must amount to a considerable sum annually.

Besides the great quantities of the different kinds of goods which the merchants of Amsterdam and Rotterdam send up to

all the western parts of Germany, by the Rhine and by the Maase, on their own account, all the different kinds of merchandize which the merchants of those parts import directly from or export to foreign parts, must pass through the one or the other of those cities, pay the duties of import and export to the state, and likewise a commission to some of their merchants for expedition; so that in fact the Hollanders, from their situation, lay a tax upon all the foreign trade and commerce of these parts.

But lastly, what has as much contributed to increase the commerce of this state as any other means whatever, and almost in spite of nature to fix it to this otherwise disagreeable spot, was the naturally phlegmatic, though otherwise enterprising and persevering disposition of the original inhabitants, whose motions were slow but sure; and who, from their situation, frugality, and industry, would rather be contented with a small profit, than, by being too bold in their enterprizes, run the risk of injuring the other branches of their commerce. The ambition of these traders was very small; to be a member of a corporation was all they could expect; and their patience and perseverance in acquiring wealth was equal to their natural industry. They considered that there were more great fortunes raised by saving and œconomy with moderate gains, than by bold undertakings with great expence and prodigality.

A native Hollander, even in our days, very rarely over trades himself, or launches into any thing farther than his capital will well bear him out; he is more fond of following slowly the beaten paths, than entering upon any new road with which he is unacquainted; and if caution and wariness would always insure him success, he would rarely if ever be unfortunate: he always
calculates

calculates the chances there are in winning or losing by an undertaking, and will never enter upon it, unless he has so many in his favour as amount to very near a certainty: and by measures of this kind have the judicious Hollanders acquired immense riches; fixed a great part of the trade of Europe to a country formerly the most disagreeable and the most unwholesome of any in the world; and made that country not only convenient and useful for commerce, and tolerably salutary for the support of human life, but in many respects elegant and beautiful.

C H A P. VI.

*Of their REVENUES, RESOURCES, and MILITARY POWERS
by Sea and Land.*

THE strength and force of a nation were estimated, in former ages, by the numbers of her native military subjects whom she could bring into the field, when she was engaged in a war with her neighbours; and the quarrels of nations were decided, in those days, not by mercenary forces raised with money, but by national armies. Under the feudal system, which prevailed in almost every part of Europe, the nobility and gentry were bound to attend their princes to the wars with certain numbers of their armed vessels, according to the tenure and extent of the several lordships and lands they held of the crown: but when this force was not proportionable to that of the enemy they were to contend with, the rest were composed of subjects drawn together by the love of their prince or of their country,
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by the desire of conquests and spoils, or by the necessity of defending themselves; and these were encouraged and animated by honour, revenge, and the desire of domination.

Military discipline was little known in these days; and a battle or two fairly fought generally decided a war and the quarrel of an age, and either lost or gained the country or cause for which it was undertaken, till other circumstances and events determined the contending parties to decide the matter anew.

Regular standing forces or guards, in constant pay, were not used by legal sovereigns in their native countries; and were regarded only as the forces of conquerors or usurpers to defend them against the attacks of subjects, and not against those of enemies.

These general regulations seem first to have been altered in Europe by the two republics of Venice and Holland: both of them having small extent of territories by land, and these surrounded by powerful and warlike neighbours; both of them having but a small number of native subjects, whose genius was rather disposed to commerce than to war, and to the sea service rather than to that of the land: both these states carried on an extensive commerce, and gained immense riches; which made them endeavour to counteract the great force of their neighbours in native military men by foreign stipendiary troops; and to defend their frontiers by fortresses and strong towns, by which to break the impetuosity and violence of their enemy's undisciplined forces, and to draw out a war into length by sieges, when they durst not risk the issue of it upon a battle; making the destiny of the state depend more upon the force of money than upon that
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of arms. This conduct compelled all those princes whose territories bordered upon these states to pursue the same measures, which have since extended over all the continent of Europe.

The strength and force therefore of the United Provinces are to be estimated, not by the numbers and warlike dispositions of their subjects, but by the number of their standing troops, and by the strength of their ships of war, which they constantly maintain even in the time of peace; and by the numbers of both which they are able to draw into the field and to sea for the support of a war; by the number and strength of their fortresses; and by their constant revenue to support the former, as well as the resources which they have for the supply of the latter.

It has indeed been much debated, whether the strength and force of a state may be estimated upon this plan, and whether a small army of natives, who are well disciplined, and who have the honour and interest of their country at heart, is not to be preferred to a great army of stipendiary troops, who are very indifferent about any thing more than how they are to be paid, and upon any extremity would as soon turn their arms against those who employed them as against their common enemies? A great deal has been said on both sides of this question, and undoubtedly experience and the history of past ages furnish us with many examples where stipendiary forces have done their duty, and acquitted themselves with honour; but I believe there are many more examples to the contrary. Much will depend upon the natural bravery of stipendiary troops, and upon the ideas their officers have of honour and probity.

The English and the French troops acted with integrity in the defence of the United Provinces, and repelled the Spanish forces; but the inhabitants of this state found to their cost, that the armies which they formed in after-ages, were composed of troops of a very different species: however, as the Hollanders themselves think that a mercenary army is the best mode they can employ to defend themselves, I shall not prosecute my enquiries any further into this matter at present, but pursue my original plan, to state, as near as I can, the revenues, resources, and military forces of this state, as they stand at present. The common revenue of this republic consists in the ordinary funds which the Seven Provinces provide every year, according to their several proportions, upon the petition of the council of state, and computation of the charge of the ensuing year, given in by them to the States General; and as well upon what is levied in the conquered towns and country of Brabant, Flanders, or the Rhine: and this revenue generally amounts to about 25,000,000 of guilders a year.

The principal funds out of which this revenue is raised, are the different excises, the customs, and the land-tax. The excises are so very high and general, that they are not to be paralleled in any part of Europe; as there is scarcely one article of the necessities of life in this country but what pays this heavy tax; the customs, as I have already observed, are low and easy, and that part of the revenue is applied particularly to the admiralty; the land-tax is likewise moderate, on account of the great expences the landholders are at in supporting their dikes and windmills, and in keeping the country dry. Out of this revenue are paid all the military forces by land and sea; all the public officers of the state; all their ambassadors and ministers in foreign countries; and

and the interest of all the public debts of the States General, which at the close of the war in 1748 was very considerable; but since that time it has been diminished. Besides the debt of the generality, all the provinces respectively have very great public debts, the interest of which is paid out of the provincial revenues. The province of Holland at the treaty of Aix la Chappelle had a debt of above 140,000,000 of guilders, 13,500,000 pounds sterling, for which they paid an interest of three per cent. But as the republic has been in peace ever since that time, they have reduced this debt very much; and the interest upon a great part of it is now only at two and a half per cent. The interest is paid with great exactness, so that no person ever demands it twice; and when they pay off any part of the principal, those who are the proprietors of it receive it with great reluctance, not knowing how to place it out to interest again with such ease and safety: and the principal part of the revenue of numbers of private families is received at the public cantores, either of the generality or of the several provinces, where these public debts are registered.

All the public debts of these provinces, including those of the generality, and of the particular provinces and cities, amount to very near 50,000,000 pounds sterling. All the excises and taxes that are laid upon landed property and immoveable possessions are collected by the magistrates of the several places, and by them paid into the receivers, because both the number and value of them are constant and easily known: but those which arise out of uncertain consumptions, are generally farmed out to people who bid most for them; some for three months, some for six, and some every year. The collection, receipt, and payment of all the public money are made without any fee to officers,

who receive fixed salaries from the state, which they dare not increase by any private practices or extortions; so that a bill of any public debt, payable to the bearer, or to order, is here like a bank bill, or a bill of exchange.

The extraordinary revenues of this state are, when upon any pressing occasion, or in the time of war or public danger, the generality agree to levy extraordinary contributions: as sometimes the one hundredth penny of the estates of all the inhabitants, the poll-tax, or any other subsidies and payments, according as they can agree, and as the occasion is more or less pressing.

Formerly they laid a tax upon all those who travelled in their country, whether in the tracscouts, or in a coach, in a waggon, or on horseback; which was then thought to be very oppressive and disgusting by all ranks of people; but in the last war they had with France this tax was made perpetual, and is now become a part of the provincial revenue. The taxes in this country are at present so heavy and so general, that it is almost impossible to augment the public revenue by this means, without endangering a commotion in the state; and whatever extraordinary revenue is raised in the present state of their affairs, must be raised by extraordinary contributions among the principal inhabitants: and certainly there is no country perhaps in the known world of equal extent where there is such a mass of riches; and where a great part of the individuals are better in a situation to make public contributions of this nature, than they are in these provinces.

I believe it will be found that the Hollanders have, at this time, about 30,000,000 of pounds sterling in the English funds; and

and since the bankruptcy which France made in the year 1769, their capital in the public funds of that kingdom has been estimated only at 28,000,000 of pounds sterling: with the emperor and the princes of Germany, and with Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, they have about 15,000,000 more; to which if we add, at a moderate computation, 40,000,000 of pounds sterling of their own debts, it will be seen that the personal property of the inhabitants of this state, exclusive of their stock in trade, money in circulation, bank, &c. jewels, and other ornaments, amount to 113,000,000 of pounds sterling: an amazing mass of treasure for a state where the greatest number of her inhabitants never exceeded 2,000,000.

Their standing land forces at present, supposing all their regiments to be complete, are 32,000 men, and are composed of the troops of several of the little princes in Germany, of Scotch, of Swiss, of Walloons, and of the deserters from almost every state of Europe: there are very few of the natives of the Seven Provinces in their army, except the officers. These troops are paid differently, according to the contracts made with the respective states from whom they were hired. The admiralties in time of peace maintain about five or six and thirty ships of war of different burthens, for conveying and protecting their trading ships, and for any sudden accidents of the state. The estimates for the yearly expences of the army, and for the repairs of fortresses, magazines, &c. amount to about 720,000 pounds; the common estimate of the admiralties, for the maintenance of this fleet and for the building of ships, is about 550,000 pounds a year. I count 1,000,000 of guilders for 90,000 pounds.

In their former wars they had about 60,000 landmen in their pay, and a fleet of above 100 sail of men of war at sea; and upon extraordinary occasions they have raised, in the provinces, very near 4,000,000 of pounds sterling yearly; of which the province of Holland alone raised 2,150,000 pounds.

Certainly the United Provinces are in a situation to support a war by sea with any power in Europe, except England, and that with advantage; but notwithstanding all their land forces, and their frontier towns and fortresses, I am afraid they would be obliged to call in their allies to their assistance, if they were attacked with only an army of 40,000 men, who were well disciplined and commanded. It is true their troops make a great parade in reviews, exercises, &c. but when they came to action, in their last war against the troops of France, the States soon perceived that exercising and reviewing alone were not sufficient to inspire troops with bravery.

C H A P. VII.

Of the CAUSES of the various REVOLUTIONS which have happened in this State.

IT must be observed, that as this federate Republic, in the course and progress of its greatness, has often shone forth with great splendor; so in the various revolutions which it has undergone, it has fallen into such insignificance, as has equally amazed mankind in regard to the one as well as by the other.

I have already observed, that when a prince or governor attempts to govern contrary to the natural interests and to the dispositions of the bulk of the people, his government will be weakened and rendered precarious; and if he acts with violence, or if the state is threatened with any great danger, a sudden revolution generally puts a period to his reign.

There is no state which has furnished a more striking example of this kind than the United Provinces; which, after withstanding so bravely the force of the Spanish arms, when they acted vigorously and in concert, appeared a very contemptible and insignificant power before the arms of France, when they were divided. All their frontier towns and fortresses, which made such gallant defences in the sieges and actions of the Spanish wars, were entered like open villages by the troops of France in the reigns of Lewis the Fourteenth and Lewis the Fifteenth, without any defence, and many of them without any resistance.

In laying down a particular account of the causes of these revolutions, it will be necessary to look back almost to the commencement of the state.

After the earl of Leicester's departure, prince Maurice of Orange was chosen their governor; and, by his great abilities and good conduct, he not only repelled the Spanish arms, and even gained some considerable towns upon their frontiers, but he fortified these frontiers in such a manner as to prevent the Spanish forces from breaking in again upon the United Provinces without great loss. All the disinterested part of mankind beheld with admiration the manœuvres of this prince, and regarded him as the chief support of their government: but his great abilities
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and successes were the means that excited a strong party against him in the States, headed by Barnevelt, pensioner of Holland, who became jealous of the prince's power, and pretended to fear that it would grow to an absolute dominion: and when the first propositions of peace were made them by the archduke Albert, they used all their endeavours to bring the States General to consent to it, though the generality of the people were for continuing the war, from a very just supposition that the power of their governor would be considerably increased by a continuation of the war, which was wholly managed by him, and that a peace would make it give way to the civil power. As soon as the peace was signed, Barnevelt and his party took every occasion to oppose the prince's measures, and to diminish his authority as stadtholder or governor; which being resented violently by the prince and his friends, who thought he had merited a better treatment from them, were the causes of all those jealousies, quarrels, and confusion which followed; and though they seemed to end with Barnevelt's death, who was beheaded some years after, yet they have ever since continued lurking in the veins of this state, and have appeared upon all the revolutions that have since happened; and under the names of the stadtholders, and the patriotic party, have ever consisted the weak side of this government, and often brought it near to an end.

As soon as they had concluded a peace with Spain, their extensive commerce brought in such a torrent of riches as made them forget their former situation, and fall into jealousies, quarrels, and animosities among themselves: undoubtedly their state owed its existence to the bravery and good conduct of the princes of Orange, who were chosen their stadtholders or governors, with a limited power; but when the states of the several provinces

vinces saw themselves delivered from the authority and jurisdiction of their ancient enemies, they thought the stadtholder was a restraint upon their power; and therefore took every method to oppose it, and at length to annihilate it; which happened, by a formal edict, about the year 1652; and the government continued in the hands of their popular magistrates, at the head of whom was De Witt, pensioner of Holland (a minister of the greatest genius, authority, application, and industry, that ever adorned this state) for twenty years, during the minority of prince William of Orange, afterwards king of England.

In the course of this ministry, De Witt and his friends, who were chiefly the popular magistrates of the great towns, not only removed all the friends of the house of Orange from the charges, both civil and military, which they held in the state, but they filled those places with such persons as were thought to be well disposed to the interests of their more popular state: and all this had been attended, for a number of years, with the constant success of their affairs both at home and abroad, by the growth of their trade, power, and riches, and by the consideration of their neighbours: yet, as the bulk of the people had been educated in the idea that their government owed its existence to the stadtholders of the house of Orange, and as they saw that the States of the several provinces were exercising an unbounded authority over the people, loading them with unnecessary taxes, and assuming the title of high and mighty lords, they were ripe for a revolt, supposing that they had a chief of less abilities and virtue than the prince of Orange to lead them on. But when they saw all their frontier towns taken, and their country invaded by Lewis the Fourteenth, without

any preparation made for their defence, or any leader in whom they could confide to check the torrent of the arms of France, the rage and fury of the people were so great, and there were such general tumults throughout the whole country, as ended with the execution of De Witt, and several of the chiefs of his party; with the displacing all those who were even suspected to be his friends throughout the whole government, and with the full restitution of the stadtholder's authority; but with such a confusion and distraction of their councils and actions, as made way for the rapid successes of the French arms; so that in less than three months they had lost the greatest part of four of their provinces, and the whole state was in danger of being destroyed. Happily however for the people, their confidence was well placed, for the young prince of Orange not only shewed great military skill in their defence, but afterwards attacked France with such fury as made Lewis repent of the rash action which he had committed.

After having so narrowly escaped the great danger with which they were threatened, through the imprudence and timid councils of the States, and for want of a chief to direct their military affairs, could it even be reasonably supposed, that this people would, immediately after the death of their deliverer, fall again into the same errors? But this was actually the case; for no sooner was the king of England dead, who was also their stadtholder, than the States of the several provinces re-assumed their uncontrouled aristocracy much against the inclination of the people, whom they loaded with heavy taxes, and, as it is said, with many unnecessary ones; but there was not at this time any person who had interest and credit enough to support the public cause: the ancient demesnes of the house of Orange were fallen
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into the hands of another branch of that family, which was not yet in a situation to make any powerful efforts for regaining the authority of stadtholder; though this illustrious family had partizans enough in Holland to make frequent, but ineffectual, struggles in their favour.

Things went on in this manner till the last war in Flanders, when, from the ill conduct of the State (who entrusted the government of their principal towns and fortresses to men who were very ill qualified for it) and still more so of their troops, who shamefully deserted their colours, the marshals de Saxe and Leuindahl very soon made themselves masters of all their principal fortresses, and the French army were about to penetrate again into the Seven Provinces, as they had done in the year 1672.

The people who were now loaded with taxes, and every moment threatened with the advances of the enemy, began to see the disagreeable situation in which they were again involved; dissatisfaction and even despair were read in their countenances: but the aristocratical government of the States was now so severe, that the people dared not announce their sentiments to each other; and a kind of silent distraction reigned in all the Seven Provinces, till the taking of Bergen-op-zoom, when the inhabitants began to be furious; and by the contrivance of an English smuggler, who, at the risk of his life, made a spirited harangue to the common people in Zealand, they unanimously declared the prince of Orange to be their stadtholder, and that this office should be hereditary in his family; forced the magistrates of their several towns to do the like, or otherwise they would immediately have shared the fate of De Witt; and

afterwards sent expreffes into all the other provinces to publifh what they had done, and to animate their compatriots to do the fame.

The lower claffes of the people in all thefe provinces had for fome time paff fmothered their resentment againft the States, and only wanted fuch an effort to declare themfelves publickly; within two days therefore the States of all the Seven Provinces were obliged to follow the example of the Zealanders; and their terror and confufion were fo great, that none of them had refolution enough to make any conditions for themfelves, but the magiftrates of Amfterdam: and thus was the authority of the ftadtholder again confirmed, and declared to be hereditary, happily without any bloodfhed, or without fhaking the great pillars of the government; though much might have been feared from the rage and fury the people were in at this time, if the States had not immediately complied with their request.

Ever fince this revolution the government of this country feems to be in a ftate of tranquillity and inactivity; keeping the Republic at peace with all the world, profiting from the quarrels and wars of their neighbours, and at leaft fupporting the appearance of union among themfelves, feem to be the fyftem of politics adopted by the principal minifters of this ftate: but, in the prefent fituation of things, this feems to be a very bad fyftem, not only for their foreign but for their domeftic affairs. They fee themfelves furrounded with powerful and enterprizing neighbours, who keep up a great military force to opprefs and even feize, when an occafion offers, all thofe little ftates whofe fituation is contiguous to their own, and where there is any profpect of plunder or any other advantage; and though they know that
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these powers have long since beholden with envy and jealousy the immense riches which they have gained by their former industry, as well as the magnificence with which they have adorned that wretched country, they will sit down quietly and suffer themselves to be surprized and roused from their inactivity, as they were in the year 1672.

The generality of the better sort of people in these provinces, who are not immediately dependent upon the prince of Orange, are dissatisfied that the office of stadtholder should be made a part of their government: it is true they have prudence and phlegm enough to stifle their sentiments upon this subject, in hopes that a more favourable opportunity will offer itself, wherein they may openly declare themselves: even the most moderate people make no scruple to declare to their friends, that they are still at a loss whether they shall educate their children in the ideas of a stadtholderian government, or in those of what they call their legal and natural government. Hence therefore, notwithstanding their appearance of union, they are far from being united in this state: it is fear and prudence, more than affection to the government, which keeps them quiet.

Whenever we find all the inhabitants of a nation, which has the name of a free government, in a state of tranquillity, we may be assured that their ideas of liberty are very imperfectly formed. What is commonly called union in a body politic is a very equivocal thing: the true union is the union of harmony which makes all parties, though they appear very opposite to each other, concur in the general good of the society. The ideas of power and dominion are always annexed to riches and opulence: here are several hundreds of the inhabitants of this state, who think that
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they have an undoubted right, purchased with the blood of their ancestors, to a share in the government, and of consequence indirectly to the power of the state; but when they are controuled, in the exercise of what they call their legal authority, by a minister of the state, and obliged to submit to the direction of this minister, before whom they must appear humble and submissive, their pride is hurt, and their ideas of power and authority vanish into air.

This seems to be exactly the situation of the United Provinces at present; and will, in all probability, continue to be so, either till the power of the stadtholder be totally annihilated, or till the sovereign authority fall upon one person: whenever the last is the fate of this country, the prince will not be great, though the state appears now to be so; but, on the contrary, these provinces would soon become a very mean and disagreeable country; for such a power must be maintained by force, as it would be acquired, and indeed as all absolute authority must be in these provinces.

This would cause a general discontent and sedition in all the towns, as well as change all the orders of the country, endanger private property, and shake the credit and safety of the government: whenever this event should happen, the great merchants likewise would be scattered abroad, and secure their property in foreign parts; the great banks would be dissolved, and trade would be carried on so languidly, that probably in a small space of time the people would not be in a situation to maintain the dikes; the sea and rivers would break in upon the land, and metamorphose their principal cities into fishing towns, as they were in former ages.

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If ever this State is reduced to such extremities as to become a province to some greater power, they will certainly choose the subjection of Great Britain rather than that of any other; not only as a state where trade and commerce are the principal objects of her policy, and where the merchants and traders have all the reasonable liberty and security for their property that they can wish, but as a power that, with a moderate land-army well conducted, considering her situation and her powerful marine, can defend them against the whole world: besides, Holland and Zealand are so situated for an inland as well as a foreign commerce, that, with freedom at home and such a support, they must always be the center of trade and riches. The idea which many have adopted, that the States General, in case of such an extremity, would first seek to be admitted as a Belgic circle in the empire, and thereby to receive the protection of that mighty body, is a very strange one; because if ever the United Provinces are overpowered by land, it must be by some of the great States of Germany, who of late have paid very little regard to the laws and regulations of the Germanic body. If the prince-royal of Prussia proves to be as enterprising, when he comes to the throne, as the present king, these provinces will have much to fear from being so nearly situated to his territories.

France may surprize them, but she cannot conquer them; neither will Great Britain ever suffer her to extend her dominion into these parts.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

T H E
RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE
O F T H E
NORTHERN GOVERNMENTS.

B O O K II.

Of the Constitution, Laws, Policy, Customs, Religion,
Commerce, Revenues, and Military Forces, of DEN-
MARK: With Observations upon some particular
transactions which have lately happened at that
Court.

C H A P. I.

Of the Rise and Progress of the present Government in
DENMARK.

AS mankind in general are not well informed of the different countries which compose the monarchy of which I am going to give a description, it will be necessary that I lay before my readers a concise account of the provinces which are at present denominated the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, as I shall often have occasion, in the course of this work, to mention these provinces, from their being originally different in their constitution and government.

Vol. I.

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The kingdom of Denmark is formed of several islands, as well as of part of the great continent of Europe: among the former, that which merits our greatest attention is Zealand, as it contains Copenhagen, the principal city of the whole kingdom, and which, since the middle of the fifteenth century, hath become the royal residence. This city took its name from its port or harbour, one of the best in all the North, and is situated upon the borders of the Sound, opposite to Scania in Sweden; it is rich, populous, strong by its natural situation, and at the same time a very regular fortification; it is ornamented with several grand public edifices, and particularly with one of the most elegant royal palaces in all the northern parts of Europe.

Some leagues from hence towards the North, the little arm of the sea which washes the walls of Copenhagen, and which is here about three leagues over, is more and more contracted by Zealand and Scania, till at last it forms what is properly called The Passage of the Sound, celebrated from its being the principal passage into the Baltic.

Elfenor is a small town, situated upon the border of this canal, and defended by the castle of Cronenburg; before which all the trading ships which enter in or go out of the Baltic must lower their sails, and pay a tribute to the crown of Denmark, which is more or less in proportion to the value of their respective cargoes. This passage is not here quite a league over; and on the Swedish shore the water is very shallow. The other parts of Zealand do not present any thing remarkable to our view: it is a sandy soil, but nevertheless rather fertile in grain and pasturage, and agreeably variegated with woods and lakes of water.

Fioni is the second island in Denmark for its extent, but the first for the goodness of the soil: it is higher ground than Zealand, from which it is separated by an arm of the sea, commonly called The Great Belt, from comparing it with another arm which separates it from Jutland on the other side, and which is called The Little Belt. All kinds of grain and fruit grow in abundance in this island, and the pasturage is excellent. In the middle of the island is situated the town of Odensee, which is the capital of the province; and seven other less considerable towns are situated in different parts of the island.

The islands of Laland and Falster, though much less in extent, are not less fertile than Fioni: both these islands are remarkable for the fine wheat which they produce, and the latter likewise produces abundance of fruits. There are also several other small but fertile islands in the neighbourhood of these above mentioned, which support a considerable number of inhabitants by their natural productions. But one of the largest and most fertile of all the provinces of this kingdom is Jutland, forming the head of that long peninsula which is bounded on the west by the Ocean; on the north and east by the Gulph, which is called in the Danish language the Categade; and on the South by Holstein, and part of the Baltic sea: this province produces abundance of all kinds of grain and pasturage, and is a kind of magazine for Norway on all occasions: there is a great number of small cattle bred in this province, and afterwards transported into Holstein to be fed for the use of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Amsterdam.

The great duchy of Holstein, which is now united under the Danish government, makes a considerable addition to the strength

and riches of this state. This province is bordered on the west by the Ocean and the Elbe; on the north by Jutland; on the east by the Baltic Sea; and on the south by part of the territories which belong to the Electorate of Hanover: Holstein is well peopled, rich and fertile in itself, and I suppose furnishes more excellent fat cattle, and all other kinds of provisions in proportion to its extent, than any other province in Europe. It has a great number of commodious ports for the exportation of its commodities, and for carrying on various branches of commerce, particularly on the side of the Elbe and the Baltic; it contains a great number of rich and flourishing towns, whose situation is very propitious for commerce: how well this child of industry has been nourished by the government of this State will hereafter be represented.

The climate of Holstein is temperate and agreeable, but in all the northern provinces of Denmark the winters are very severe, so that the inhabitants very often pass arms of the sea in sledges upon the ice, and during the winter all their harbours are frozen up.

The kingdom of Norway, which at present is united to the crown of Denmark, is bounded on the north and west by Lapland and the great Ocean; and on the south and east by the Ocean and by Sweden. All the interior parts of this extensive country is full of mountains, which are covered with wood and rocks, and are extremely cold, disagreeable, and uncultivated; but on the sea coasts there are considerable tracts of fertile soil, which produce grain and herbage for the use of the inhabitants; and what they want of grain, or of the other natural productions of the earth, more than what their country supplies, they receive from

from Holstein and Jutland: however the interior parts of this country, though the surface of the earth is extremely uncultivated and disagreeable, have likewise their natural productions, which abundantly compensate for this disadvantage. The vast quantities of oak and fir timber which they produce of different sizes, and for different uses; of tar, pitch, and turpentine; and their mines of iron, copper, and silver, have hitherto made these parts more esteemed in many respects than the others. On the western parts of this kingdom they have a very great cod and herring fishery, which not only supply the inhabitants of this country, but furnish two great articles of commerce for exportation.

On the northern part of this kingdom, and as well on the northern part of Sweden, and of some part of Russia, is Lapland; which is inhabited by a people very different from their neighbours, in their language, manner of living, and figure of body. They are very short and thick, and have the air of being extremely savage, but they are not barbarous and cruel. Those who live upon the sea coasts support themselves by fishing, and by building little barks and boats, which they sell in Norway: the others who reside in the interior parts of the country, but have no fixed abode, support themselves by hunting, and by the sale of the skins of the wild beasts which they kill. Those among them who have a communication with the Norwegians and Swedes have embraced Christianity, and are a little civilized by the commerce they have with the inhabitants of these nations, but the rest live still in ignorance, are too poor to be disquieted by other nations, and are preserved in that independent state of nature in which they have always lived, by the great inclemency

mency and severity of the climates, and from many of those evils which our intemperance hath brought upon us.

All the religion they have is a confused idea of a supreme invisible Being, and all their form of worship consists in some superstitious practices. They have no laws nor magistrates, but are very humane, good-natured, and fond of hospitality: they have an aversion to those who are quarrelsome and wicked; murders, and even fighting, are almost unknown among them: they are very chaste before marriage, and tenderly love their children.

Iceland, as it was first inhabited by a colony of Norwegians, and afterwards in the year 1262 united to the crown of Norway by king Haquin, must be regarded as a part of this kingdom, especially as his son Magnees in the year 1280 gave laws to the inhabitants of this island, which are received and obeyed there even to this day.

Iceland, situated between the sixty-third and the sixty-seventh degree of latitude, is of a very considerable extent, being near 400 English miles long, and 200 broad; but there are not above 100,000 inhabitants in the whole island. There is great evidence that it was better peopled in former ages, but that terrible disorder called the black plague, which ravaged all the North in the fourteenth century, destroyed great numbers of its inhabitants. There is not any town in the whole island; and the inhabitants are dispersed along the sea coasts in different cantons, not forty English miles from the shore; as all the interior parts are covered with rocks and uninhabitable mountains, which are rendered still more disagreeable by the extreme coldness of the climate, and at the same time by volcanoes and earthquakes.

quakes. The soil upon the sea coasts is tolerably good for pasture; so that, besides what they use for their own consumption, the Icelanders export a considerable quantity of salted provisions, particularly beef and mutton. Though there is not any considerable town in the whole island, they have several frequented ports, and carry on some commerce with their salted beef, mutton, fish, fish-oil, &c. which they traffic, in barter, for grain and other necessaries of life, as none of the former grow in this island.

Having given a brief account of the different colonies which form the Danish monarchy in its present state, I shall now proceed to enquire into the origin of the ancient inhabitants and government of these countries. To attempt to particularize exactly the time when this part of Europe was first inhabited would be ridiculous, because it would undoubtedly mount up to that period when all the States of Europe were plunged in the greatest ignorance and barbarity. All that we can discover on this subject is, that the first inhabitants of this country, as well as all the Germans, appear to have been colonies of the ancient Scythians, who spread themselves through all the northern and western parts of Europe: the conformity of the name likewise makes us believe that the Scythians were the first who peopled Denmark, and that it was from them that the Cimbri inherited the name which they used so long before they assumed that of Danes: but though we cannot justly ascertain their origin, we know with certainty that they occupied for some time before the birth of Christ that country called The Ancient Cimbria, and which appears to have comprehended Jutland, Sleswig, Holstein, and some parts of Lower Germany: there are some districts in Holstein, where the people even to this day preserve the name of Cimbri.

Cimbri. The ancients have always regarded this people as constituting a part of the Germans, and have never distinguished the one from the other in all the writings which they have left us concerning their manners and customs.

The first inhabitants of Denmark would have undoubtedly been unknown to us, if the famous expedition which they made into Italy had not drawn upon them for some time the attention of the Romans, who had the advantage of having good historians, and who threw some rays of light upon these dark and obscure ages. Plutarch, as well as several other writers of the Roman history, informs us, that under the consulate of Cæcilius Metellus and of Papirius Carbo, in the year of Rome 640, the liberties of the republic were threatened by her intestine discussions; but all on a sudden the operations of the contending parties were suspended, by the news of an irruption of the northern nations: an army of more than 300,000, composed of the Cimbri, the Teutones, and other nations, which inhabited the lower parts of Germany, had abandoned their country which was become too populous (and from their soil being uncultivated, the climate likewise was very rude and disagreeable) to seek after a more favourable climate, and to support themselves by plunder; they attacked and vanquished all the little nations in their neighbourhood; and as there was no force to resist them, they resolved to push their conquests farther. The Gauls were next subdued by this barbarous people, and wherever they went their course was for a long time marked by the most horrible ravages. A general consternation preceded them which way soever they directed their march, and when they learnt at Rome that they were preparing to attack Italy, the whole city was in the greatest fear and distress.

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The senate immediately dispatched Papirius Carbo to defend the passages of the Alps, thinking themselves happy if they could preserve Italy from these formidable and dangerous enemies; but they took another road, and being stopped for some time upon the banks of the Danube, the Romans took courage and sent to inform the Cimbri, in a threatening tone, that they should take care not to give any umbrage or inquietude to the people of the North, their allies. On which, when the Cimbri heard that a Roman army was approaching, as they respected the republic for the great military character she had acquired, they sent ambassadors to the consul Papirius to exculpate themselves; saying, that as they came from the remote parts of the North, they had no knowledge of the alliances the Romans had with any of the northern nations; adding, that they had been informed that it was a law received among all nations, that the right of every thing appertained to the conqueror; that the Romans themselves had no other right to the greatest part of the country they possessed; that they otherwise entertained a great respect for the inhabitants of Rome on account of their virtue and of their bravery; and that for this consideration, though they would not yield to any nation in the world, they would consent to leave those northern nations, which were allied with the Romans, in peace, and exercise their courage in other places, where they could do it without exposing themselves to the displeasure of the republic.

Appearing to be satisfied with so moderate an answer, the consul left them to retire quietly to some distance; but when the Cimbri had no idea of any acts of hostility, Papirius surprized them by night, when they were asleep and disarmed, and began to make a great slaughter among them: but these brave warriors,

fired with indignation, flew to their arms, and defended themselves with so much intrepidity, that the enemies gave way on every side, and escaped only by favour of the night.

Though the Romans sustained very little loss in this action, the perfidious behaviour of the consul was like to have produced very fatal consequences to the republic; for the eclat and reputation which this affair gave to the arms of the Cimbri drew great numbers of volunteers into their army from all the neighbouring nations, who were animated by the same desire of glory, and who were jealous of that of the Romans. With these new forces they attacked the Gauls a second time, and pushed their conquests even to the foot of the Pyrenees: they now thought of establishing themselves in Spain, but were repulsed; and after being fatigued by so many useless marches, sent a new embassy to the Romans to offer them their services, upon condition they would give them a tract of country to cultivate. But the people were too prudent to enter into any kind of accommodation with such dangerous enemies; and not coming themselves into any agreement about the division of their territories, they refused the Cimbri what they had demanded; whereupon the latter resolved to extort from them by violence what they could not obtain by prayers and intreaties, and immediately attacked the consul Silanus with such fury that they forced his entrenchments, and cut his whole army in pieces: this victory was soon after followed by another, which their allies the Germans gained over Cassius Longinus; and, before the Romans had time to recover this loss, a third army, more numerous than either of the former, was entirely defeated, Scaurus, who commanded it, taken prisoner, his two sons killed, and more than 80,000 Romans lay dead on the field of battle. Afterwards the
consul

consul Manlius, and the proconsul Cæpius, who commanded a fourth army, were attacked near the Rhone, and entirely defeated.

Such a continued series of losses filled Rome with the greatest consternation; and many, who thought the state to be in a very desperate situation, were for complying with the demands of the Cimbri and the Germans, and buying their friendship with the tracts of land which they demanded, which would have destroyed Rome from that moment, as it did some centuries afterwards. But the senate, who foresaw all the ill consequences of such a measure, resolved to oppose it; and, in conjunction with Marius, thereby saved the Republic.

This great general was now advanced to the consular dignity for the fourth time, and with him was associated Catulus Luctatius, who was not much inferior to Marius in the art of war, and who was greatly his superior as a statesman. As soon as Marius had obtained the command of the army, he presently saw the cause of the ill success of his predecessors; and therefore resolved not to give battle to his enemies before their ardour was a little allayed, and before his soldiers had recovered the panic into which the appearance and credit of the enemies had thrown them: the repeated victories which the Cimbri had gained over them; the extraordinary figure of this people which was rendered still more formidable by their cloathing, the air of ferocity which they had in their looks, their dreadful cries, and their manner of fighting, all combined to strike the imagination of the Roman soldiers with fear and consternation, which was a circumstance that time only could vanquish; with this idea the general thought it would be prudent to encamp his army, in an advan-

tageous situation, upon the banks of the Rhone, and provide himself abundantly with all kinds of provisions and necessaries, so as not to be obliged to fight before he thought proper.

This great precaution of the Roman general was regarded by these barbarous people as a mark of fear, they therefore resolved to divide their army into different bodies, and to penetrate into Italy; and at the same time employed a variety of stratagems, and even insults, to draw the Romans out of their fortified camp; but the Roman general was insensible to all this, and remained in the same situation till the enemy's army had passed him, and then he followed it, harrassing the rear to Aix in Provence, where the two armies halted, and the battle was fought which his soldiers had wished for some time. After some little attacks upon the out-posts of each army, the grand attack was made by 30,000 Germans, who marched with a firm pace by the sound of their instruments, but they were repulsed by the Romans with great loss; and when they betook themselves to flight, their wives ran before them to stop them with swords in their hands; loaded them with reproaches; charged indistinctly the vanquishers and the vanquished; and shewed an invincible firmness till they were all destroyed: this action raised the courage of the Romans, and was regarded as the prelude of a more decisive victory.

The greatest part of this body of troops was destroyed the first day, and afterwards Marius ordered his army to retire into their camp, where he commanded the soldiers to observe a strict watch, but not to make any movement, and to appear as if they had been intimidated by their own victory. In the enemy's camp, on the contrary, nothing was heard but the most frightful cries and howlings, so that even the Roman general himself could
not

not help expressing the disagreeable impression they made upon him; nevertheless they made no motion this night, nor the day following, but continued to prepare themselves for a second battle. Marius, on the other hand, took every necessary precaution to defend himself, and placed an ambuscade of 3000 men, commanded by Marcellus, to attack the enemy in rear, when they saw them engaged.

On the third day, when the armies were in presence of each other, the Teutones, and the rest of the German army, animated by a ferocious impetuosity, which characterised these barbarous nations, instead of waiting for the Romans till they were descended into the plain, where they might have attacked them with an equal advantage, attacked them upon a rising ground, where they were advantageously posted; and as Marcellus charged these barbarians at the same time with his troop, they were immediately thrown into disorder and gave way: then it was that victory declared herself entirely in favour of the Romans, and nothing was seen but a horrible scene of blood and slaughter. The Roman historians inform us, that more than 100,000 Teutones and Germans perished on this day.

On the other hand, the Cimbri, who had separated themselves from the Teutones and the Germans, and were advancing into Italy, threw all the Roman state into the greatest consternation and fear, especially as it was found that Catulus Lucatius was not in a situation to stop their progress; and Marius was immediately ordered to form an army to oppose them. The Cimbri were now encamped upon the banks of the Po, and waited to be joined by their allies the Teutones and the Germans, as they were entirely unacquainted with what had befallen them.

them. However, after waiting some time, and surprized at their delay, they sent to Marius a second time, to demand a tract of country sufficient to maintain themselves and their friends the Teutones and the Germans: to which Marius replied, that their friends had already more earth than they demanded, and that they would always keep what they had received. The Cimbri, irritated at this raillery, prepared themselves to take an ample vengeance for it; and their king, or general, accompanied with a certain number of his principal officers, advanced towards the Roman camp, and sent a defiance to Marius; and at the same time desired to agree with him about the time and place, when and where the two armies might join battle. To which Marius replied, that it was not customary for the Romans to enter into any agreement with their enemies upon points of this nature; however, to please the Cimbri, he would do it for this time, and appointed the next day, and a neighbouring plain, for the time and place of action. On which both armies prepared themselves for this great scene. Marius drew up the Roman army very advantageously, Catulus commanded a body of 20,000 men; and Sylla had likewise a command in this army. The Cimbri formed a square battalion of immense depth with their infantry; and their cavalry, composed of 15,000 men, were extremely well mounted: every soldier had the head of some wild beast with its mouth open fixed upon his helmet, and his whole body was covered with a mail of iron; they carried long halberts or rather lances in their hands; and, upon the whole, they made a very formidable appearance. The heat of the day was very favourable to the Romans, who had taken the precaution to turn their backs to the sun; while the Cimbri, who had not been accustomed to suffer much heat, had it in their face: moreover the clouds of dust which was raised by such multitudes of
men

men and horses, prevented the Roman soldiers from seeing the numbers and ferocity of their enemies, so that they fought with the more confidence. At length the Cimbri, who had never suffered such heat, grew faint and confused, and were very soon thrown into disorder; and the precautions which they had taken to prevent this accident, served only to increase it, and to give the Romans a greater advantage over them, as they had bound the soldiers of the first ranks to each other with chains. Those who were in a situation to escape from the field of battle met with new dangers in their camp: their wives, clothed in black, and seated on their chariots, received them as their enemies, and massacred, without distinction, their fathers, brothers, and husbands, and even their children; and afterwards destroyed themselves. Their husbands, at length growing desperate, turned their arms likewise against themselves, and seemed to join with the Romans to hasten their own destruction. The Roman authors say, that there fell 120,000 of the Cimbri in this horrible action; so that if we except a few families, whom they left in their own country, and a few who escaped, we may justly say that the greatest part of this fierce and valiant nation was destroyed in one day; and those who were taken prisoners were led into captivity, and never returned again into their own country.

This is the account which the Roman historians give us of the famous expedition of the Cimbri. They drew upon themselves, for a moment, the attention of all Europe; but their imprudence alone was the cause of their destruction, which indeed will always be the case among people, where bravery is not supported by prudence and good order.

After

After this time, as the strength of their nation was exhausted, they sunk into so low a state, that the Romans themselves lost sight of them. Strabo tells us only, that they afterwards endeavoured to gain the friendship of Augustus, and sent him a present of a famous vase, which they made use of in their sacrifices: and Tacitus, in his history of the Germans, says, that there remained very little more of the Cimbri than a great name, which was even revered among the Romans.

Though this expedition of the Cimbri had such a celebrity in Europe in those days, it gives us but a very imperfect idea of this ancient people; what the ancient historians of the North, and many among the moderns, relate of them, is so obscured with fable, that there is no great credit to be given to them: however, I cannot well proceed to represent the state of the ancient Scandinavi, without taking notice of a celebrated tradition, which is confirmed by the poetry of all the northern people, by their annals, and by their institutions and customs, of which many subsist even to this day: we are hereby informed that a very extraordinary person, named Wodin or Odin, reigned antiently in the North, and made several great changes in the religion, government, and customs of these countries; that he had an unbounded authority; and that the people even rendered him divine honours. These are facts which cannot be contested; but the time when this man appeared in the North, his origin, and other circumstances of his life and of his death, are points with which we are entirely unacquainted; the most profound enquiries and the most ingenious conjectures only serve to shew our ignorance of him.

A great

A great number of northern authors have written upon this subject, but all they have said on it is comprehended in the writings of Snorro Sturleson, an ancient historian of Norway; and in the commentaries and explications that Forfœus, an Icelander, who studied at Copenhagen, has added to them.

These authors observe, that when the Roman republic had given laws to all the world, and supposed that there was no power upon earth that could withstand their forces, they were all on a sudden surprized to see an enemy rise up from the forests of Scythia, and from the banks of Tanais, who contributed greatly to disconcert their measures. Mithridates, in his flight, had drawn Pompey into these deserts, by one of those master-strokes of policy which are the resource of great geniuses in such circumstances. This king sought refuge among these ferocious Scythians, whose hospitality was equal to their bravery, and hoped, by his address, to arm them against the ambition of the Romans, and to make a just cause with them against those haughty Republicans, who would give laws to all the nations upon earth. He succeeded immediately in his attempt, and raised a mighty army against Pompey; but these rude undisciplined people were soon forced to give way before the superior genius and order of the Romans, who followed them into their deserts, and even dispossessed them of a great part of their own country.

Woden, say they, was among the number of those who were obliged to fly from the vengeance of the Romans, and to seek an asylum in a country which was unknown to them. His real name was Frigg, son of Fridulph; but when he appeared in the North, he took the name of Woden, which was the supreme

god of the Scythians; whether it was that he wished to make himself pass for a man who was inspired by the gods, or whether he was the first priest or chief of the ceremonious worship that they rendered to the god Woden, does not appear; because it was much the practice, in those days, to give to the high priests the names of the god whom they served; and therefore Frigg, full of ambitious projects, certainly did not fail to assume a name so proper to fix the attention and respect of the people he designed to reduce under his subjection.

Woden, say these authors, commanded a colony of the Scythians, who peopled that tract of country between the Euxine and the Caspian Sea; their principal town was called Asgard; the worship they rendered to their supreme god was the same which was practised among the Scythians in all the neighbouring countries. Woden, assisted by twelve inferior priests, performed these functions; and also, like the Druids, administered justice in civil matters; by which means this artful man, having united under his standard all the youth of the neighbouring countries, marched towards the north-west of Europe, and, as they tell us, subdued all the little nations which he met with in his passage, and gave to each nation one of his sons or of his chief friends to command them. Thus it was that Suarlamir commanded in Russia, Baldeg in Westphalia, Segdeg in Saxony, and Sigge in Franconia. The greatest part of the ancient sovereign families of the North pretend to be descended from these princes.

Hengist and Horfa, the chiefs of those Saxons who came into England in the fifth century, counted Woden among the number of their ancestors. But when we consider that the word Woden signified likewise the supreme god among the Scythians
and

and Celts, and that it was the practice in those days for all the heroes to pretend that they were descended from their gods, and particularly from the god of war, it is easy to conceive how the artful and enterprizing Frigg made himself so famous among an ignorant and superstitious people.

After having disposed of such an extent of country, and established every where the form of worship practised in his own country, of which he was the chief director, Woden directed his march to the north-west among the Cimbri, but this people gave him very little opposition; he afterwards passed on towards the island of Fioni, which submitted as soon as he presented himself: he staid some time in this agreeable island, and laid the foundation of the town of Wodensee or Odenfee, which has preserved its name to this very day. From thence Woden extended his arms towards the North, subdued the rest of Denmark, and established his son Sciold there as king. He was the first who had this title in Denmark; and, according to the Danish annals, began his reign about sixty years before our Saviour. This was after the destruction of the great army of the Cimbri by the Romans, so that Denmark must then have been in a very weak and empoverished state. Woden, better pleased without doubt to give crowns to his sons than to reign himself, passed afterwards into Sweden, which was then governed by a prince called Gylph, who was persuaded that the author of a new form of worship, and of such mighty conquests, could not be an ordinary man, and therefore he not only rendered him great honours, but even adored him as a divinity. Under favour of this opinion, which the ignorance of the people easily embraced, Woden very soon acquired in Sweden the same authority which he had in Denmark; that is, to be the absolute dis-

poser of all their religious, civil, and military affairs. The Swedes unanimously elected his son Yugue to be their king; and as Gylph died soon after, Woden governed with an absolute sway: he made new laws, and introduced all the customs of his own country: he established a great council or supreme tribunal, composed of his twelve assistant priests, at Upsal, to administer justice to the people, to watch over the public affairs, to preside over their new form of worship, and to be the counsellors of the prince in all religious and civil matters, and even in his pretended magic. Woden was very soon acknowledged as a sovereign, and as a divinity, by all the little kings who at that time governed in Sweden, who paid him a tribute in proportion to the extent of their respective countries: he engaged, on his part, to defend the inhabitants against their enemies, and also to pay all the expence of the worship which they rendered to the gods at Upsal.

Such a number of conquests had not yet nevertheless satisfied the ambition of Woden; the desire of extending his religion, his authority, and his glory, made him likewise undertake the conquest of Norway; in which, by his address and pretended magic, he succeeded, and another of his sons, called Sœmungue, was elected king.

After having finished these glorious expeditions, Woden retired into Sweden, and finding himself drawing near to his end, he would not suffer himself to be carried off by a disease, when he had so often braved death in battle; but having called together all his friends, and the companions of his fortune, he gave himself nine wounds in the form of a circle, with the point of a lance, and declared when he was dying, that he was going into Scythia to take his place among the other gods, where he would
receive

receive with great honours all those who should afterwards expose themselves intrepidly in battles, and should die with arms in their hands.

When he was dead his body was carried to Upsal, and, according to the ancient Scythian usage, burnt with great pomp and magnificence. Such was the end of this founder of the Northern Governments, as extraordinary in his death as during his life. There are many other singular anecdotes related of him by the northern historians, but they are so enveloped in fable, that I dare not hazard a recital of them in this enlightened age.

All the northern writers are of opinion, and I think with a good deal of reason, that the ardent desire which he had to revenge himself on the Romans was the great spring which set all his machinery in motion: driven out of his country by those enemies of all liberty, his resentment, according to these authors, was so much the more violent, as the Scythians regarded the revenging the injuries of their parents and of their nation as a sacred duty; he therefore did not traverse so many distant countries, and take so much pains to establish his bloody doctrine, but to inspire those people with vengeance against the powerful, formidable, and odious Romans. This spirit of revenge continued for a long time rankling in secret among the northern nations, particularly among the Cimbri and the Germans, while they were, if I may use the expression, in a torpid state, from the great losses which they had sustained in their expeditions into Italy; but when they had recovered themselves, and when the signal was given for acting in concert, they attacked the Western Empire with such violence, that at length they overturned the
Roman.

Roman state, and fully revenged the losses of their ancestors, and the affronts which had been offered to the founder of their new government.

There is the greatest probability that the author of this new religion and government came from some part of Scythia, and from the confines of Persia, and that the god of whom he declared himself to be the prophet and pontiff was called Woden; and moreover that the ignorance of the following ages confounded the divinity with the pontiff, and made such a confusion between the attributes of the one, and the history of the other, that we cannot at present distinguish them.

One of the artifices which Woden employed, with the greatest success, to draw upon him the respect of the people, was that of consulting in all difficult affairs the head of a certain person who had, during his life-time, gained a great reputation for wisdom. This man had been beheaded; but Woden got him embalmed, and persuaded the people that it was he who instructed him in the pursuit of his measures. He always carried this head with him, and made it pronounce oracles when he wanted them. An artifice of the same nature was practised by Mahomet, who made his followers believe that a pigeon brought him the orders of heaven.

The Iceland chronicles paint Woden as the most eloquent and persuasive of all mankind, and that nothing could resist the force of his discourse; that he sometimes mixed verses in the midst of his harangues, which he made in an instant, as he was a great poet likewise, and that it was he who taught the northern people poetry: he was also the inventor of the Runic characters, which
these

these people made use of for many ages after. The stories which they tell of his great knowledge in magic, and of his being able to raise the dead, and to foretell what was to happen, are too ridiculous to be related in our days; but they shew us clearly to what point superstition and ignorance will degrade all the faculties of the human mind. Woden undoubtedly brought with him a number of arts, and a magnificence that were then unknown in the North; with which, and his great talents and cunning, he might easily pass for a god, at a time when the inhabitants of those parts had very little more than their form to distinguish them from the beasts, and where they thought every thing a prodigy that was above their comprehension.

Among a people of this kind, living in woods and deserts, it is to be supposed there was not any great form of government, till Woden introduced that of his own country among them; what the form of government was after this æra, among the Germans and among the Cimbri, and indeed it may be added among all those countries through which Woden passed, will be seen clearly described by Tacitus, in his history of the Germans, nearly as follows:

“ All those affairs which were of no great importance in the
 “ government were decided by the chiefs of the people alone;
 “ but matters of greater concern were reserved for the general
 “ assembly, who nevertheless had not any right to decide those
 “ matters before they had been thoroughly discussed by their
 “ chiefs. They took their places in those assemblies fully
 “ armed, as they do in Poland even to this day; and their clergy
 “ had the power of maintaining good order, and of imposing
 “ silence, when matters of government were to be debated. The
 “ king,

“ king, or the principal person of the assembly, spoke first;
“ and after him the other principal persons of the state in their
“ turns, who were heard with all the attention and regard that
“ was due to their age, their rank, their great exploits, or their
“ eloquence; but they had more regard for the reasoning of a
“ person than for his authority: if the advice which was given
“ displeased the multitude, they rejected it by murmuring; but
“ when they were pleased with it, every one struck his lance
“ upon his shield; which was among them the sign of the most
“ honourable approbation. All capital criminal affairs were like-
“ wise to be discussed in this general assembly of the state.
“ The governors and judges who were to preside, and to admi-
“ nister justice in every province, and in the different districts
“ of such province, were likewise elected in this general assem-
“ bly; but every one of those governors or principal judges had
“ a certain number of assistants chosen from among the people,
“ who formed a council and judged conjointly with the chief.

“ Among these people the kings were elected for their merit
“ and high birth, but the generals for their merit alone; the
“ power of the former was much limited, and the latter were
“ chosen more for giving examples than for giving orders. It
“ was necessary that they should signalize themselves, and that
“ their authority should be founded upon the esteem and the ad-
“ miration of the people. Youth did not exclude from the rank
“ of prince or general those whose illustrious birth, or whose
“ family virtues or signal services, called them to this dignity.
“ But when they advanced in age, and made themselves esteemed,
“ a croud of young warriors came and made their court to
“ them, not regarding the title of follower as any way degrad-
“ ing, but even bearing it in different degrees: the esteem of

“ the prince or chief regulated the ranks among them ; there-
 “ fore the followers piqued themselves upon meriting the favour
 “ of the prince, and the princes upon having the most numerous
 “ and the most valiant train : to be always furrounded with a cer-
 “ tain number of chofen young warriors was what gave them the
 “ greateft power and the greateft confideration, and what consti-
 “ tuted their safety in the time of war, and their glory in time of
 “ peace ; and in this manner they made themselves great among
 “ their own countrymen and among their neighbours : ftrangers
 “ fearched after their friendship by embaffies, and cultivated it
 “ by presents. In a battle it would have been fhamefull for a
 “ prince to have ceded the place of honour to any of his fol-
 “ lowers, and no lefs fhamefull for the followers not to have
 “ fignalized themselves in favour of their prince. If the prince
 “ perished in battle, thofe of his followers who were capable of
 “ furviving him would be difhonoured for ever : the prince
 “ fought to gain the victory, but they fought to fupport the
 “ prince. He had no other refource but war for the fupport
 “ of his followers ; who fometimes asked him for a horfe, and
 “ at other times for a launce which had been often ftained with
 “ the blood of the enemy ; and his table, which was abundantly
 “ ferved, was received in the place of pay.”

This is a fhort but an exact account of the firft eftablifhed
 government in Denmark, and indeed in all the North : it will
 be feen from hence that their kings were chofen for their fignal
 merit and high birth, rather to prefide over than to command a
 free nation. We fee likewise that the whole nation affembled
 themselves together, at certain times, to determine all the im-
 portant affairs of the ftate ; to make laws ; to decide of peace
 and of war ; to conclude alliances ; to render juftice in the laft
 Vol. I. Y refort ;

resort; and to choose their judges: we may also perceive that a body of the chiefs, or of the principal men of the nation, prepared and proposed all the important affairs which came to be decided by this general assembly; so that we may from hence trace the origin of the great council of the nation, senate, nobles, &c. which in subsequent ages became of such consequence in the northern governments.

In fact there is no doubt but that if we examine attentively the words of Tacitus, it will be clearly proved, that these people had not any idea of vassalage in those days, which appears to be diametrically opposite to the nature of their constitution; although several ingenious modern authors have been of the contrary opinion. A free and warlike people will never suffer themselves to become slaves and vassals; and when we consider the character of these nations, such as Tacitus has described it, we shall not be at a loss to comprehend how they became so attached to their original institutions: for being then the most free and warlike people upon earth, they had even a natural abhorrence of the authority of a single person; and they elected themselves generals or chiefs only because the war absolutely demanded it. Being free, they would not obey but by choice; as being warriors, they imagined that they owed no other homage to the prince than to be ready at all times to shed their blood for the cause which he supported. It might be then asked, how were these ignorant and illiterate people in a situation to preserve their great liberties so long? it was because their climate and their manner of living gave them such a strength of body and mind as made them capable of supporting long, painful, great, and enterprising actions. They were free, because they inhabited a country which was very little cultivated, full of forests

forests and of mountains, and because such a country is the only treasure of poor and indigent people : a poor country will never excite the envy of its neighbouring nations, and may be easily defended. They were free, because they were ignorant of the luxuries of life, which are often so dearly bought, and which render the protection of a powerful master so necessary, because those people, who are contented to live by hunting and in the woods, will not suffer themselves to be oppressed like the timid inhabitants of a town, who follow in a great measure the destiny of their houses. If the former were deprived of their liberty in one place they would find it in another, as easily as they found their subsistence ; because being ignorant of the use of money, this instrument of servitude and corruption could not be employed against them.

In fact this spirit of liberty, produced by the climate and the manner of living among the people in the North, received new force likewise from the opinions which it had produced : these people esteemed the right of revenging an affront above all things, except the glory of having despised death and perished with their arms in their hands ; and consequently they were always ready to oppose any tyrannical measures, under what form soever they appeared.

Thus it was that liberty was so long preserved among the ancient Danes, Germans, Swedes, and indeed in all the northern nations, as it were in its seed, till it spread itself with them into all the southern parts of Europe ; like a powerful spring it shewed the more force the more it was pressed. The power of Rome could not destroy it, but it afterwards destroyed the power of Rome : indeed it was only for a moment that there was

a kind of equilibrium between these two opposite powers: as soon as that of Rome ceased to be superior it was lost: her great name, which had been for a long time her support, kept the people of the North in awe; but as soon as they acted in concert, and attacked this formidable state a second time, they overturned the western empire, and formed several limited monarchies upon its ruins; forms of government which were not only new in those countries, but which, for their lenity, contributed much to establish their conquests.

The German, Cimbrian, and Gothic soldiers, who appeared at first to be born only for ravage and destruction, as soon as they had fixed themselves in their conquests, became all of a sudden a free and sensible people, and introduced such a spirit of order, regularity, and equality into their government, as made them be admired by all Europe. They elected their kings from among the princes of the blood royal, choosing those whom they thought most worthy to wear the crown; and divided the supreme power between the king and the great assembly of the nation, giving to the latter the legislative authority, and the power of deciding in all important affairs: and as a kind of support for the crown, or an intermediate power between the prince and the people, they distributed fiefs to their principal leaders and chiefs, with fixed and proper privileges to every order of the state. This constitution continued for a long time in all the states that these people founded in Italy, in Spain, in France, and in England. There was such a conformity in their form of government every where, that, as Montesquieu observes, in reading Tacitus we shall find all the codes of laws of the northern nations; and in all these codes we discover the words of Tacitus.

It appears, before the arrival of Woden, the Danes were divided into many nations, and lived in great independence; but this conqueror forced them to receive his son as their king, who governed them with an absolute authority: and there is the greatest probability that the same thing happened to the Swedes; who, according to the account of Tacitus, were in his time subjected to the government of one person. If this historian is well informed, the time when he supposes the Swedes living under this form of government was soon after that of their conquest by Woden; and this event alone may explain to us the despotism to which he supposes them subjected. "The Swedes," says he, "honour the rich as well as we, and it was that which
"made them fall under the government of a single person: their
"government is not a monarchy tempered and limited by any
"restrictions; it is pure despotism: the people are not all armed
"in this country as they are in the other northern nations; the
"king keeps the magazine of arms, which is guarded by some
"of his faithful slaves."

If Tacitus was not mistaken in this particular, this pure despotism was certainly only the effect of some accident, and was not of any long duration: arbitrary government has since been established in Sweden, but it was only for particular occasions, and was never of any long duration: this climate is not at all calculated for a despotic government. The Danes likewise, as soon as they had recovered the surprize into which their conqueror had thrown them, reassumed the right of electing their kings, and all the other rights which their neighbours the Germans claimed for the preservation of their liberties. It is true these people seemed to make it a rule to choose one of the family of him who was last upon the throne, or at least one of his near relations, whom they respected as the issue of the gods.

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All their elections were made in their sacred temples, which were formed, in imitation of those of the Druids, of large rude stones raised upon one end, and ranged in the form of a circle; of which many exist in Denmark and Sweden to this day, and are exactly upon the same plan with those which we find in Cornwall, Wales, Somersetshire, and many other parts of England at present: they likewise transacted all their important affairs in those sacred places. But when their king was killed in war, or at some distance from his common residence, they formed a temple upon the spot of the largest stones they could find, and upon the plan which has been before described: their chiefs entered it first, and declared their sentiments loudly; and the soldiers which surrounded them immediately declared their approbation or disapprobation by striking their arms in cadence one against the other, or by loud murmuring. This was the mode of electing the princes among all the Celtic nations in these days, and it continued so till they came to have towns for that purpose. In Sweden they joined to the ceremonies before-mentioned a certain oath, which reciprocally bound the king and his subjects.

One of the provincial judges, or of the great council of the nation, immediately after the death of a king called together a general assembly of the people to elect a successor, and demanded of them with a loud voice, whether they would accept for their king him whom he proposed to them, who was generally one of the royal family; and when they had all given their consent, the new king was raised upon the shoulders of the senators or counsellors, that every body might see and know him. Then he swore, by the manes of Woden, that he would follow their ancient laws, defend their country, revenge the injuries which his predecessors might have received from their enemies, and perform some great exploit to render both himself and his

his people famous. He likewise renewed this oath at the funeral of his predecessor, which was generally celebrated with great pomp; and a third time, before he proceeded on the journey which he was obliged to take into the principal provinces of the kingdom, to receive the homage of his subjects. The kings of Denmark were likewise elected with the same forms and ceremonies during all the time that Paganism prevailed in the North; as were also those of Norway.

Towards the end of the ninth century, a colony of the Norwegians, driven out of their country by the tyranny of one of their kings, established themselves in Iceland, where they immediately began to choose for themselves magistrates to make laws, and in fact to take every measure necessary to give their government such a regular form as might ensure them independence and repose.

The situation in which these Icelanders found themselves is in many respects very remarkable: the genius of this people, their natural good sense, and their love of liberty, are here particularly explained. Nothing has hindered or obstructed them from following their natural inclination; they are separated, by a great extent of sea, from all other parts of the world: we see nothing in all their institutions but the pure expression of their sentiments and of their taste; and it does not appear that any irresolution, or any experience of a different state, preceded the form of government, or rather police, under which they have lived for many centuries.

Nature had divided their island into four provinces; the Icelanders followed this natural division, and established in every province

province a magistrate, who had the title of Provincial Judge. Every province was divided into three precincts, which had also their judges; and every precinct contained a certain number of bailliages; in each of which were generally five inferior judges, who were charged to administer justice in the first instance in their respective bailliages, to preserve the peace and good order, and to convoke the ordinary and extraordinary assemblies of the bailliage, of which every freeman, who possessed a freehold estate of a certain value, was a member. In these assemblies they elected these five judges or bailiffs, who were to be men esteemed for their wisdom and experience, and who were possessed of a certain yearly revenue, to the end that their poverty should not expose them either to contempt or to corruption. In cases of great moment, all the assembly were to give their opinion: it was not even permitted to receive any new member into the community without the general consent. If any person desired to be admitted into it, he addressed himself to the assembly, who examined his petition, and rejected it if he had forfeited his honour on any occasion, or if he was too poor; for the community supported those of their members who by any accident were reduced to poverty; and therefore it was for their common interest to exclude those who were already poor from being of their number. They had formed a fund for this purpose from the contributions of their members, and from the produce of the fines, which were then very considerable, as they scarcely knew any other kind of punishment.

Moreover this same assembly of the bailliage had the power of examining the conduct of the bailiffs, of hearing all the complaints that were made against them, and of punishing them when they had abused their authority. The re-union of the members or
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their deputies, of ten such communities, formed a precinct, of which every quarter or grand province of the island contained three. The power of the chief of a precinct was very considerable; he had the right of convoking the ten communities to his assistance, and he was the president of all these assemblies, whether they were called together upon ordinary or extraordinary occasions: it was he likewise who ordered all the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies in the precinct, which were celebrated in the same place in which they regulated all their political and civil affairs. There was an appeal to this assembly from the sentences which were given by the bailiffs of the respective communities; and they regulated there also all the differences which arose among these bailiffs. The president of this assembly received the tribute which every citizen was obliged to pay for the expence of their religious ceremonies; and he judged in full assembly, in quality of high priest, all those who were accused of having prophaned the temples, of having spoken ill of their gods, or of having given any proofs of indevotion: the punishment of such impieties consisted generally in mulcts, which the assembly assigned to the president, on condition that he repaired the temples at his own expence. But when affairs of great consequence came to be debated, or such as concerned the whole province, all the members or the deputies of the three precincts were united to compose what was called the States of that quarter, or of the province. These provincial assemblies did not meet regularly as did the others, which were ordered to be convoked at least once every year, and it was not known precisely what were the objects of their deliberation: we can only suppose that they were for determining any differences that might arise between the different precincts of the province, and for preventing any danger which might threaten the whole province.

Above all these assemblies of the communities, and of the province, were the States General of the island, which assembled every year; and every good citizen of this island thought himself obliged in honour and duty to be of this assembly. The president of this great assembly was the sovereign judge of the island: he was invested with this charge for life, but it was the States which conferred it upon him: his principal functions were to convoke the States General, and to watch over and support the execution of the laws. He had the right to examine, in the presence of the States, and to reverse all the sentences given by the inferior judges, in the whole extent of the island, to annul their orders, and to punish them if he found any complaints against them well founded. It was he who proposed the institution of new laws, and the repeal or alteration of those which already existed; and if the States consented to it, it was he who was charged with the execution. When they came to have their laws written and recorded, and when all the island had adopted the same jurisprudence, it was the supreme judge who had the care of the original and authentic code, to which all the other were obliged to conform: there was an appeal also to his judgment, and to that of the assembly, from the sentences given in the inferior tribunals. The bailiffs or the presidents of the precincts, of which they revised the sentence, were obliged to judge the same case over again, in the presence of the sovereign judge, who afterwards pronounced the sentence between the parties and the judges. The fear of being condemned and punished before so numerous an assembly was a great check upon all the inferior judges, and served to keep every magistrate within the limits of his duty.

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The fittings of the States General seldom continued more than sixteen days, and were begun and finished by sacrifices and other religious ceremonies: it was during this interval that the supreme judge principally exercised his authority: as it does not appear that, out of the States General, his functions were very considerable, although he was always treated with much honour and respect, and considered as the oracle of the laws, and the protector of the people.

This was the constitution of the ancient Iceland Republic, which flourished for many ages, but is at present forgotten even in the North. It is easy to discover here the genius of the Celtic nations, and their mode of thinking upon government. This distribution of the people into divers communities subordinate the one to the other; this right of not being judged but by the members of their respective communities; these general assemblies of the nation, in whom were invested all the legislative power, were institutions which existed among the Germans in the time of Tacitus, and perhaps long before him: they existed likewise in Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein; where, notwithstanding the despotism of the former government, we find some traces of them to this day.

What the laws were which the Danes had during the time of Paganism cannot at present be exactly ascertained; but there is great reason to conclude that they were of no great consequence: tradition, custom, some maxims that they learnt by heart, and particularly their simplicity of manners, served them in the place of laws during these days. They had certain maxims which from time immemorial were recorded by their wise men, and which they believed had been given to the first

men by the gods themselves ; such were those of which the Icelanders have preserved some fragments under the name of the Sublime Discourse of Woden, which will be hereafter set forth under the article of religion.

The ancient people of the North lived in the state of nature long after the people of the southern parts of Europe were under regular forms of government ; the bonds which united their families were, for a long time, no more than a kind of confederacy, which was calculated to repel violence, or to exercise it. They possessed a great deal of land ; but as they cultivated little, they were very little attached to it : in fact they lived too much separated the one from the other to have any great occasion for civil laws ; and their chiefs had too little authority among them to carry such laws into execution. Hence the reason why they had so many particular societies and confederacies ; they only united themselves to revenge their injuries. Those persons who did not immediately take every means to revenge the death of their kindred and friends lost their reputation, which in those days was their principal security.

The Cimbri and the Germans, at the time when Tacitus wrote, had pushed this matter to the greatest extremity ; the innumerable disorders, necessary effects of the right of revenging their own quarrels, had at length made the wise and learned among them begin to think that it was for the general interest that the magistrates should interpose their authority in these quarrels ; and that they should oblige the offending person or his friends to receive a present from the aggressor : and fearing that this manner of determining differences should not be a new source of them,
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the compensation was fixed invariably, and generally valued in cattle, the only barter known in those days.

Such a mark of submission satisfied the punctilio of honour, and consoled the avarice of the offended, and was a sufficient security against any fear of a new offence. The Danes followed in this particular their neighbouring nations: this is clearly proved by the conduct of the Angles and Juts, who joined with the Saxons in the conquest of England, and who came from Jutland and Sleswic. The greatest part of the laws of these conquerors are collected by Wilkins, Leibnitz, and others; and I think place it beyond all doubt that they were dictated by the same spirit.

The Saxon laws, which were amended by Charlemagne, and published by Leibnitz, established a compensation in money for almost every kind of offence; and where the offender was not in a situation to pay the fine in money, he paid it in cattle, of which every kind had its value determined by law. They there distinguished carefully the different kinds of offences, and those of the rank that the offended person held in the nation. Thus, for the murder of a prince, or one of the chiefs of the nation, the composition was about three Guineas; this was likewise the composition for any wound which rendered him deaf, blind, or impotent. But if a freeman, who was not noble, was treated in this manner, the composition was but one crown; and even for the murder of a slave, one shilling and sixpence was only demanded; which was no more than the price of a single blow, without any tumour or lividity, given to a prince, or to one of the chiefs of the nation: the wounds which were given to a young woman were charged double in proportion to those which were given to a man; but it was not the same thing with regard to a woman
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who had children : any outrage done to a girl was likewise valued with great precision, according to her quality.

These laws varied in a still greater degree with respect to robberies : by the Saxon laws a robbery was, for the most part, punished with death : by those of the Angles and of the Danes, the robber compensated the offence by paying treble the value of what he had stolen.

When the government in Denmark began to acquire a little more form, and the manners of the people were more civilized, they were not content to let such enormous crimes go so slightly punished : the magistrates established to watch over the public peace pretended, that they were insulted by every thing which troubled it ; and therefore, besides the composition before-mentioned, which was only as a recompence to the offended person, they demanded a compensation likewise ; which was said to be a debt due to the public, as a recompence for the pain which they took to accommodate differences, and to detect the culpable.

These fines were for a long time the only punishment which was used among this free and courageous people, who esteemed their blood too much to shed it in any other manner than in battle. Their kings had not for a long time any other revenues than the produce of these fines, and the revenue of their own domain lands : all other kinds of impositions were unknown for many ages after the time that these laws began to take place.

If this manner of punishing crimes appears singular in itself, that of establishing proofs in justice to ascertain them will not appear less so : here all the ignorance and barbarity of the people
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in those days shew themselves in such strong colours, that we cannot add any thing to them: their embarrassment was so great when they came to decide intricate questions, and to distinguish truth from falsehood, that they were obliged to have recourse to the most strange and ridiculous practices and expedients: thus they oftentimes obliged the accused to produce a certain number of persons who had not and who were supposed not to have any knowledge of the affair in question, but who were to swear that they were persuaded that the accused person told the truth: but in all very intricate affairs, they ordered the Judicial Combat; and, notwithstanding the barbarity of this practice, it was so firmly connected with their opinions of a destiny and providence, that it prevailed in this country for many ages after Christianity was introduced among them. And although several of the popes and even the councils very often forbid this practice, it was as often re-established again under some other form.

When it appeared to them that the truth could not be discovered by any human means, they had recourse to supernatural means, and to the judgment of God. They had many ways, as they supposed, to discover the opinion of supernatural agents; being fully persuaded that all the elements were animated by an intelligence as incorruptible in its justice, as the God by whom they were created; and therefore they thought that they had only to unite the accused person to some of these divinities in order to oblige it to declare, by its action upon him, the judgment that it bore: thus they sometimes bound the accused person with cords, and threw him into a deep water; and if he sunk to the bottom, that is, if the Genii of the water took him to himself, he was declared innocent; but if he swam, that is, if these

these Genii rejected him, he was judged to be convicted of the crime.

The fiery trial, which was afterwards much used among this people, was founded upon another kind of reasoning; for, in things of this nature, we must not expect to find a regular chain of consequences; but as these matters have been so often treated, I shall not enter into any particular detail of them at present.

It has been already observed, that Schiold, the first king of Denmark, reigned about sixty years before the death of our Saviour; and he was succeeded, according to the Danish Chronicles, by eighteen kings, to the time of Regner, surnamed Logbrog, who began his reign in A. D. 750; but the Iceland and Danish Chronicles give us very little more than their names, and indeed all the history of this period is so uninteresting, and so crouded with fable, that it would be ridiculous to recite it; and even the recorders of these absurdities contradict each other so notoriously, that this part of the Danish history may be said to be a labyrinth of obscurity.

The vast concourse of people who left this country, in the fifth century, to join the armies which effected the conquest of the Western Empire, left the government in a weak and enervated state, in which it rested till about the middle of the eighth century, when we find them carrying their arms both by sea and land into all the neighbouring nations. They continued for near 200 years to spread terror upon the coasts of England, and even at last conquered the whole kingdom: indeed they first appeared as pirates and barbarians, but afterwards they became more civilized, and harmonized very much with the Saxons in their laws
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and form of government: they likewise made frequent excursions upon the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, Livonia, Courland, and Pomerania: they even attacked the emperor Charlemagne, marched to Aix la Chapelle to demand the reason why he had exercised such cruelties upon their allies, and declared that they would very soon relieve Germany from his tyranny. It is true this great emperor drove them back again into their own country, but after his death they became more terrible than ever.

They extended their conquests over all Lower Saxony, Friezland, Holland, and Flanders, and upon the borders of the Rhine, even to Mayence. They conquered the greatest part of the kingdom of France, obliged her kings to pay an immense tribute, and at length to cede to them one of the finest provinces in his kingdom: they set fire to the palace of Charlemagne at Aix la Chapelle, and even carried their ravages into Spain and Italy.

A people who know no other profession, nor any other means of subsisting but that of war, cannot fail in the end of turning pirates, if they inhabit a country which borders much upon the sea: this was the case of the Danes in those days, who were greatly encouraged in their attempts by the discord, incapacity, and imprudence of the successors of Charlemagne, who had been the means of weakening their states, and leaving them open to the inroads of these barbarians; who, by the ill conduct of the kings of France and England, were always masters of the sea; and by the immense spoils which they gathered from all the maritime parts of Europe, were always in a situation to equip a numerous fleet.

Alfred the Great was the first who put a stop to the torrent of their devastations ; but it required the genius of Alfred to effect in those ages of ignorance and confusion, what might be done without any difficulty at present.

The greatest part of the people were bred up to the sea from their childhood, and had no idea of the dangers to which they were exposed upon this element. When a prince had attained the age of eighteen or twenty years, he generally requested his father to have some ships equipped, by which he might attempt some glorious and useful exploit with his followers : this the father regarded as a mark of his rising courage, and of a great mind. A fleet was armed immediately, of which the admiral and all his officers and men made a reciprocal promise never to return except loaded with spoils and laurels. If they had received any injury from a neighbouring nation, that nation was chosen for their first victim. Those whom they vanquished were generally put to death ; sometimes indeed they contented themselves with making slaves of them : and often likewise, by a singular kind of generosity, or rather by a desire of signalizing themselves, if they found themselves superior to the enemy which presented itself against them, they ordered off a part of their fleet, that they might fight the enemy with equal forces, despising the gaining an advantage with superior numbers ; and regarding it as an infamous practice to surprize an enemy in the night. Their vessels were always well provided with arms, and all the men were taught to swim ; so that, as they generally fought near the shore, they were often in a situation of saving themselves although their vessels were destroyed. The manner in which their lands were divided in Denmark and in Norway, shews us that the chief end of their government was to have a
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maritime force. Every division, whether it was greater or less, took its name from the number of vessels that it could equip; and in some places these names are still in use. In the beginning of their maritime expeditions their fleets were not very considerable; but when their princes had enriched themselves by plundering their neighbours, they came to have two or three hundred sail of ships of war, and each ship to carry from 100 to 120 men.

To a nation that is wholly addicted to plunder and rapine, civil laws and a police are of very little use: this was strictly the case of Denmark when their king called Gorman came to the throne, in the year 840; the few useful regulations which had been left them by Woden and others were now laid aside, and the kingdom was divided among two or three princes, who governed with a very limited power: and that confusion which we find in the history of Denmark, to this time, was occasioned by one historian writing the history of one prince who reigned in this country; and another the history of another prince who reigned at the same time. But Gorman by uniting to his crown all the provinces of Denmark, of which his ancestors had been dispossessed, and being forced by the emperor to receive the Christian religion into his states, gave this government again some form, and from hence we may date the origin of the civil government which existed in this state for many centuries afterwards.

Harold the Second, the successor of this prince, began his reign in the year 935, when the Danes were so powerful that they not only made war in France and in England, conquered and fixed a colony in Normandy, but attacked part of Ger-

many during the absence of the emperor Otho the First, who was then occupied in Italy: however Otho, when he returned out of Italy, repelled these people, and followed them into Jutland, where the king of Denmark was obliged to solicit a peace, which the emperor granted, on condition that both he and his son Suene or Swane were baptized in the Christian faith.

Historians say, that the principal motives which induced the emperor to make this peace, were his zeal for Christianity, and his desire to convert Harold and all the Danes to the Christian faith: certainly the interest of this emperor, and the repose and security of his states as well as his zeal, demanded that he should neglect nothing to civilize his savage and intractable neighbours, among whom robbery and plundering were regarded as the most honourable actions.

After the death of Harold, in the year 985, his son Suene was raised, by election, to the throne; and as this prince had been baptized when the emperor Otho came into Denmark, this sovereign gave him his name, so that the Danish historians call him Suen-Otho; but it appears that notwithstanding this he only made an exterior profession of Christianity, and that he was always a Pagan in his heart; a great part of the Danish nation being of the same sentiments, as more agreeable to the system of robbery and bloodshed, which were their darling passion. It was very soon afterwards seen that the Christian religion was forced to cede to the religion which was formerly practised in this country: the sacrifices recommenced, the images of the gods were replaced in their temples, they shut up or destroyed all the churches, the priests were obliged to seek refuge in other countries,

countries, and the king laughed at all the exhortations and intercessions that were made by the archbishop of Bremen.

Thus was this state plunged again in a great measure into its former barbarous and confused situation: rapine and plunder became the principal objects of the king as well as of his subjects; they began again their piracies upon the coasts of England, destroying with fire and sword all who were so unhappy as to fall in their way. Ethelred, who reigned in England at this time, instead of following the example of his great ancestor Alfred, gave the Danes a great sum of money to leave the kingdom; but the next year they returned, and demanded an equal sum, and pretended that it was a tribute which was promised them; this being refused, they carried fire and sword through the greatest part of the kingdom, and then retired, leaving only a few troops to guard the eastern provinces, where they had established a colony. But, during their absence, Ethelred shewed himself no less barbarous than Suene, by giving a secret order to destroy all the Danes, without any distinction, who were in the kingdom, and thereby drew upon himself the hatred of the king of Denmark, who vowed revenge, entered England with a powerful army, defeated Ethelred, laid waste the whole kingdom, and was afterwards proclaimed king; but he dying soon after, left the kingdom to his son Canute, who finding some resistance from Edmund the son of Ethelred, agreed to divide the kingdom with him; and after the death of Edmund, which happened in the following year, he was proclaimed and crowned king of all England.

Though Suene died a Pagan, his son was a Christian, and afterwards shewed himself worthy of sitting upon the throne of the

the great Alfred. When he had subdued all England by his arms, he shewed himself to be no less qualified to preserve and reap the fruits of his conquests. Though the inhabitants of this kingdom were subdued, he clearly perceived that fear alone kept them in subjection; and therefore, not only through policy, but, as it is said, after the example of Alfred, through inclination, he applied himself immediately to make his government as agreeable to them as that of a strange prince could possibly be: he examined Alfred's code of the Saxon laws with great attention; and finding it as commodious to his purposes, as it was to the English nation, he gave orders for its being immediately put in force in England, and likewise ordered the greatest part of those laws to be established in Denmark. He also ordered the strictest impartiality to be observed between the two nations, caused justice to be administered with the greatest exactness, and made the English believe that he had no other intention in vanquishing them, than to establish among them that peace and tranquillity which they had so long wished for.

But what principally distinguished the reign of this great prince was the code of laws which he made for Denmark, under the title of *The Laws of the Court*; which were calculated to regulate the differences that arose continually between the officers of the army and those of the court, which were terminated by duel; an abuse which, as he thought, was nursed in the bosom of Paganism, and was not worthy to exist in a Christian country. Canute resolved therefore to regulate this matter upon such a plan, that no person should afterwards dare to do justice to himself. This was one of the first written code of laws that ever appeared in the North, and was composed of the following articles: "The ranks of the courtiers shall be regulated accord-
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“ ing to the time that each person has been in the service of the
“ king; so that the most ancient shall have the first place.
“ When any man shall have a subject of complaint against ano-
“ ther, he shall lay it before the king, and desire his majesty
“ to take cognizance of the affair; whereupon his majesty shall
“ appoint two persons of the court to cite the accused before
“ him: he is to be cited three times, and if he does not appear
“ the third time, he is to be banished from the country, and
“ his goods are to be confiscated for the use of the king. If he
“ appears, the king shall hear the witnesses, who at least are
“ to be two, and to give their declaration upon oath. When
“ the accused person is convicted of a design to betray his king
“ or his country, or of having actually betrayed them, he shall
“ be condemned to die. If there is no person to give witness
“ against him, or if the witnesses will not deliver their declara-
“ tions upon oath, then the accused person is to be acquitted or
“ condemned by the judgment of God; that is, he shall be or-
“ dered to walk over a red-hot iron; and if he is not hurt thereby
“ he is to be acquitted; if the contrary, he is to be condemned.
“ If any man violates the law by striking another, he is first to
“ be declared infamous, and then banished from the court; and
“ if the case is attended with any other acts of violence, he is
“ to be banished from all the dominions of Canute: and after-
“ wards, if any officer of the court shall meet him, and not at-
“ tack him, being better armed than him, he shall likewise be
“ declared infamous.

“ If any person of the court shall accuse another of having
“ insulted him by words, and it is proved by the declaration of
“ two witnesses upon oath, the accused shall lose his rank, and
“ take

“ take his seat in an inferior place : all cases of this nature shall
“ be brought before the tribunal of the court.”

After judgment was pronounced, the king rose from his seat, and asked those who composed his council, whether they had any thing to oppose to his judgment? as they were all at liberty, according to the code, to make any remarks upon it.

After so many precautions, this prince seeing the English quiet and content with his government, turned his attention towards Denmark, whither he sent a great part of his army, as his authority began to totter in that kingdom, by the continual efforts which he made to fix it in England. The people in those days were not accustomed to regard themselves as the patrimony of their prince; or to suppose that he owed nothing to them, whilst they were obliged to do every thing for him; weary therefore of an absence so long and so prejudicial, the Danes made Canute understand very clearly, that they should not always think themselves bound to obey a king who appeared to disdain being among them. Heretofore, said they in one of their general assemblies, we had several kings to command us; and it was then even thought that Denmark was too extensive to be governed by a single person; but at present, when we are threatened to be attacked by two neighbouring kings, we have not one king to lead us and defend us; we have only spilt our blood in the conquest of England to see those whom we have conquered preferred before us: but what exasperated the Danes the most was, that the king filled all the places of trust in this kingdom with English, and even gave them all the bishoprics and benefices in the kingdom. At length Canute found himself obliged to go into Denmark, and to pass a winter there, not
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only to satisfy the desires of the people, but to concert the plan which he had in view for subduing that part of Norway which Suene his father had conquered, but which had thrown off his yoke by the address of Olaius, a prince descended from one of the ancient kings of this country: this the king after some difficulty performed, and afterwards spent the rest of his days in England, leaving the government to his son Hardy Canute; in whose reign nothing remarkable happened in the government of Denmark, except a very extraordinary treaty which he concluded with Magnus king of Norway. This prince, the son of Olaius before-mentioned, having re-conquered the kingdom of Norway, not only supported himself in it, but made himself so formidable that he forced Hardy Canute to enter into a treaty with him, which gave to the survivor the states of the other, in case the latter should die without any male heirs; and twelve of the principal men of Denmark, and as many of Norway, promised upon oath to guaranty this treaty: and as Hardy Canute died soon after, Magnus was received as king of Denmark, and the two crowns became united by the unanimous consent of the two nations.

No remarkable change happened in the government during this reign, or during that of Suene his successor: but Harold, the eldest son of the latter, who succeeded to the government, made many laws which several historians have condemned, and others as much applauded. He abolished the ancient barbarous usage of the judicial combat; but substituted in its place the no less dangerous practice of accused persons exculpating themselves upon oath from all sorts of accusations, which was the source of great injustice and perjuries in all parts of the government. This prince reigned only two years, and was succeeded by his brother

Canute the Fourth, who was distinguished only by his piety, and the immense donations which he gave to the clergy and to the church. Full of the project of establishing good order, and of making religion respected in his territories, Canute made himself very odious to the people, from the extreme severity which he used towards them; and, lest the clergy should acquire such an empire in the state, as was contrary to good policy, and even to the dictates of the Christian religion, he exempted the whole order from the civil jurisdiction of the state, and erected a particular tribunal in their favour, to take cognizance of all ecclesiastical affairs, and to have the power of imposing fines upon all persons who had committed any misdemeanour against religion.

The bishops, to this time, had nothing to do with temporal affairs, to the end that they might have no other occupation but that of religion; but it was Canute's will that they should henceforth have such a power in the state as to be in a situation to protect religion. He regulated the rank of the bishops by a solemn edict, and ordered that the same honours should be shewn to them as were shewn to dukes and princes: moreover he ordered that they should not only have seats and voices in the assembly of the states, but that they should be admitted into the senate, and be upon the same footing with the other senators of the kingdom; a conduct which was severely felt, and no less regretted by many of his successors.

After having raised the clergy above all the other orders of the kingdom, it was necessary that he should place them in a situation to support this rank with splendor; and for this purpose he augmented considerably the revenue of the bishop of Roschild, and of his inferior clergy: he enriched the church of

Lunden by giving it one fourth of all the fines which were received there; and a fourth of all the taxes which were paid in the country: he founded and enriched several monasteries; in fact he endeavoured to establish the usage of paying the tenths to the clergy: but this last act enraged the people more than all the rest. The severity which he had shewn towards those who had been guilty of small crimes, the excessive power which he had given to the ecclesiastics, and the imposition of a new capitation tax, with the title of an expiation for the injuries his people had done him, gradually contributed to inflame the most moderate of his subjects against him; and when they saw him likewise endeavouring to introduce the practice of giving tenths to a clergy already too powerfull, they became furious.

Canute was the only lay-person in Denmark who believed that paying tithe was the commandment of God; the States General of the kingdom had constantly and unanimously refused to submit to such servitude. Canute therefore was obliged to content himself with the first tax; and in hopes of bringing his subjects likewise to pay the tenths, he ordered that this kind of fine should be levied with rigor. But the people flew to arms, and Canute, in endeavouring to quash the rebellion, was killed, when he was kneeling before the altar, and recommending his soul to God.

Thus fell this pious but imprudent prince, who thought he was doing an essential service to religion, when he was only corrupting its ministers; in fact, we soon after perceive these corrupted ministers ceasing to regard religion as the foundation of their power and of their glory, abandoning the duties which it ordered them to pay to the other orders of society, commit the

care of their flocks to ignorant mercenaries to be themselves at the head of armies, and elated with their riches and the numbers of their vassals, arrogantly assume the titles of little sovereigns; and within their fortified castles, or at the head of large bodies of rebels, foment the troubles of the state, and even declare war against their legal sovereigns.

Nothing remarkable happened to this government during the reign of Olaius the Second, the successor of Canute, who began his reign in 1086, and died in 1095; but after his death the states elected his brother Eric the First, son of Suene, to be their king, whose good and pious character made him be esteemed and beloved by all his subjects. He renewed again the ancient usage of consulting the states of the kingdom before the declaration of war, or the undertaking of any affair of great moment in the state: but after having reigned eight years, he resolved, in a fit of devotion, to go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died in the Isle of Cyprus.

From the time of his death, in the year 1103 to the year 1157, during the reigns of Nicholas, Eric the Second, Eric the Third, and Suene the Third, Denmark was in a continued scene of confusion and bloodshed, in which the bishops and clergy were the principal actors.

But when Valdemar the First came to the crown, after having subdued all the intestine commotions in the state, and brought its foreign enemies to reason, he re-established such good order and justice among all ranks of men, that his very name was revered. It was this prince who revised and published two codes of laws, one called The Laws of Scania, and the other The

Laws of Zealand, as well as the Ecclesiastical Law of these two provinces. The Ecclesiastical Law of Scania, composed of twenty-five articles, was published in 1162, and the Civil Laws the following year. The Laws of Zealand appeared first in 1172: these laws conjointly with the code of Jutland, published by Valdemar the Second, are the source from which are derived the present laws of Denmark; which, if they were properly carried into execution, are extremely well calculated to dispense justice to all orders of men.

It was this prince also, according to the chronicles of Pomerania, who founded the town or the castle of Dantzic, which was then called Danſkſwig, or the fort of the Danes; and at present is one of the greatest commercial towns in all the Baltic. The authors of these chronicles assert that Valdemar having carried the war into the states of a duke of this country called Sobieſlas, built near the mouth of the Viſtula the fortrefs of Danſkſwig, to keep him in awe; but, as soon as he was returned into his own country, Sobieſlas made himself master of it.

Canute the Sixth, the son of this king, who began his reign in the year 1182, was the first who admitted the Feudal Law in Denmark, which was afterwards abused to such a degree, that all the common people in the country were brought into a state of the most abject slavery, as will be fully represented in the course of this work.

In the sixth year of his reign, when he presided in the assembly of the states held at Odenſee, he received some messengers, with the letters of pope Clement the Third, exhorting him and the Danish nation to make a part of the croifade against the Infidels,

Infidels, with the rest of the Christian powers, and to endeavour to regain Jerufalem from Saladin, who had just now made himself master of it. The perusal of these letters made a great impression upon the Danish nobility: the king had too much wisdom and prudence to take any part in this affair; but several of the principal persons of the kingdom, and their followers, entered into this strange scheme, which ultimately came to nothing.

This king took every method to enrich his people, by encouraging commerce and the herring fishery, for their coasts at that time swarmed with herrings.

Arnold, the author of the Sclavonian Chronicle, tells us,
“ that the Danes, having at this time a considerable commerce
“ with the Germans, adopted the dress of other nations, as well
“ as their manner of arming themselves. Heretofore they
“ were cloathed as sailors, because as they inhabited a maritime
“ country, they were almost always upon the sea; but at present, says he, they are often cloathed in red, and in stuffs of
“ other colours, and even sometimes in purple and fine linen:
“ in fact they have all kinds of riches in abundance, because of
“ the fish which they catch every year upon their coasts. The
“ merchants of all other nations come among them to buy their
“ fish, and bring them gold, silver, and all other precious things:
“ and after having bought the herrings, which Divine Providence has given so liberally to this people, these strangers
“ leave them in exchange, for a commodity which costs them so
“ little, the best of every thing of which they are possessed.
“ Moreover Denmark is also filled with excellent horses, which
“ is owing to the great fertility and goodness of their pasture:
“ and

“ and by means of this attendance it is, that they distinguish
“ themselves in war by their cavalry and by their marine.

“ They have likewise made a considerable progress in the
“ sciences, because the nobles of this country have been accus-
“ tomed to send their sons, whom they designed for an ecclesi-
“ astical life, to Paris to be instructed; as well as those whom
“ they saw had a turn for literature and polite learning. By
“ this means they are become well versed in theology and in
“ the fine arts; and as they have a natural rapidity and facility
“ of expression, they are become very expert in conducting and
“ treating of ecclesiastical affairs.”

This Chronicle was written in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and certainly, considering the ignorance and superstition of those days, contains a very flattering character of the Danish nation.

Several Danish historians, who wrote about this time, have given a very exact history of their own country; particularly Suene Aggesen, who has given an abridged history of Denmark, from the foundation of the government to the reign of Canute the Sixth, written in an easy and elegant latinity.

After the death of Canute, his brother Valdemar was proclaimed king by the unanimous consent of the states, who not only vanquished all the enemies that rose up against him, re-conquered the town of Dantzic, which was built by his father, and built the town of Stralsund, but by the good order and regularity which he employed at home, the kingdom enjoyed a perfect tranquillity; and Valdemar employed this happy period
to

to form or to finish many useful establishments, which were obliged to be suspended during the wars. He made several new laws, which are to be found at present annexed to the code of Scania; he built several fortresses for the security of his territories, and rebuilt the town of Lubeck, which had been ruined by a fire; and towards the end of his reign he applied himself principally to reform the laws of his country, which, in a series of years, had been so abused, that the administration of justice was become a source of innumerable difficulties.

Many people would be judged only by the laws of the empire, which were introduced into the kingdom by their doctors and advocates who had studied in Germany, and others, who had been accustomed to the ancient laws of the kingdom, refused to obey any other laws; whereupon Valdemar, to prevent this confusion and disorder, convoked a general assembly of the states at Vordingbourg in Zealand, to which the three princes his sons, the senators, all the bishops, the principal nobility, and the deputies of the provinces assisted; and in this assembly was the Jutland code composed and adopted, which from hence forward became the fundamental law in this province, as the laws of Scania and of Zealand were in their respective provinces: for this country, having been so long separated, was not easily to be established under one uniform and perfect legislation.

This Jutland code is, in general, composed with much reason and judgment; it much surpasses all those which were ever before in Denmark; especially in regulating the proceedings of the courts of justice; and it was for a long time established in Fionia, in Jutland, and in the Duchy of Sleswic. The first changes that it suffered were in the reign of Christian the Third; and
although

though it was afterwards suppressed by Christian the Fifth in Jutland and in Fionia, it is followed in many respects in the duchy of Sleswic even to this day.

The customary laws of a country are generally more ancient than those who first recite them; and the Jutland code, like our great charter, rather gives a regular and fixed form to the ancient customary laws than creates any new ones; and there is no room to doubt but that the custom of dividing the country into certain districts was in use for a considerable time before the code of this prince established it as a part of their fundamental law.

The situation of Denmark was such as made her maritime forces always be regarded as the most necessary to her security and grandeur: every thing was regulated for this purpose in their military laws; and the whole country was divided into little provinces or maritime districts. The laws of Jutland ordered, that every one of these districts in time of war should build and completely equip one ship, and furnish it with provisions as long as should be necessary for the king's service: the greatest part of these vessels had, for a considerable time, only fourteen men, one captain, one lieutenant, and twelve common men. This captain commanded in all his district, from which he was likewise furnished with a complete suit of armour, some provisions, and was exempt from all taxes.

We see likewise from hence the progress that the feudal tenures made in this country, which in after ages became so destructive. Those who possessed a farm in this district, of the value of two marks of silver yearly, were bound to furnish one man for the equipment of this vessel: and a farm that produced

a mark of gold yearly furnished eight men. All the freemen in the district served in their turn, or they might send others who were capable of bearing arms in their place, provided they were free; if any one sent a slave in his stead, he was ordered to be whipped. Though the Jutland law only makes mention of vessels which carried fourteen men, it is certain that Valdemar had a great number which carried 120 men: undoubtedly the first were constructed and equipped by the farmers, and the latter at the expence of the king, of the towns, of the bishops, or of the great lords.

If we may judge from the manner of taxing the lands in these days, the number of people must have been then much greater than at present. The same districts in time of danger were obliged to furnish their quotas, and to make other considerable efforts; so that this prince was not only in a situation to repel the insults of a foreign enemy, but at the same time to undertake other conquests.

The Danish historians say, that Valdemar armed 1400 vessels when he made war in Livonia, among which were 500 which carried 120 men each: also when Canute the Sixth undertook to subdue the Vandals in Pomerania and Prussia, the duchy of Sleswic furnished him with 130 ships, the province of Ripen with 120, Vendsyssel with 50, Fioni with 100, Zealand with 120, and Scania with 150, besides those which remained in their ports for the defence of the country, and what the other provinces, which were not taxed, could furnish.

But what the wisdom of Valdemar and a happy concurrence of circumstances had established, apparently upon such a

solid foundation, to constitute the power and grandeur of the state, by the ignorance and bigotry of succeeding princes became the source of all their miseries. The granting permission to court minions and favourites to buy those free farms in the maritime districts before-mentioned, to form them into hereditary manors, and to annex to them all such other lands as they should acquire, with the same privileges and immunities as the former had; and even in the time of civil wars, and during minorities, to augment these privileges, were the means which formed those little tyrants who called themselves the nobles, and who, in conjunction with the clergy, were afterwards the pest of Denmark, and indeed would have been so of any well regulated human society.

Valdemar likewise inserted other new regulations in the Jutland code: he abolished the use of proofs by the red-hot iron as before-mentioned, and substituted in its place what was called the canonical purgation, or the oath of one or of the other party, which was to be joined with that of eleven of his relations. He established also the trials by juries exactly upon the same footing as is practised in England, as every person here was ordered to be judged by his peers: but the revolutions which happened in Denmark in subsequent ages, and the tyranny of the nobles, have not left the least trace of this excellent institution.

This great prince died in the year 1241, and as nothing remarkable happened in the reign of his son Eric, but a scene of bloodshed and confusion, I must pass it over to make some observations upon that of his brother Abel, who, though he was one of the most wicked and abandoned wretches in his private character who ever disgraced a civil society, and the murderer

of his king and of his brother; yet when he came to the crown made several wise and useful regulations in the government: he established the custom of holding a general assembly of the States every year, which had been neglected during the civil wars; and, with the assistance of the senate, in one of these assemblies he made several judicious regulations, which were added to the Jutland code; and corrected, as much as possible, the disorders which the civil wars had introduced in the state.

He was afterwards murdered by his rebel subjects, and his brother Christophle succeeded to the crown in the year 1252, whose whole reign was a scene of confusion and civil war between him and the clergy, which at his death in the year 1259 he left entailed, with his crown, upon his son Eric the Fifth, who was then only ten years of age; and, in fact, which only finished with his life twenty-seven years after. The pope, who pretended to be the only competent judge of these differences, manifested a most wicked and shameful partiality in favour of the principal clergy, who were now become so many little tyrants. But, during this contest between the king and the clergy, another source not less fertile in divisions and revolts, the uncertainty of the feudal laws, continued to depopulate this unhappy and divided kingdom.

Eric compiled and published the code which was called Birkerrett; because the ecclesiastics and the nobles, who were now at the height of their power, regarded the judges and the governors whom the king sent into the provinces as greatly their inferiors, and they would not suffer that these officers should pretend to exercise any jurisdiction upon their lands, hear the complaints of their farmers, and maintain against them the rights of these
poor

poor people, whom they regarded rather as their proper subjects than as the subjects of the king: their intrigues, their credit, and their attention to take advantage of the wants of their kings, gained them by degrees this great prerogative of being the judges of their farmers, over whom they had now acquired all the rights and authority that one man can exercise upon another.

These are the effects of the feudal tenures which are practised in Denmark, Russia, Poland, and a great part of Germany to this day, as will hereafter be more particularly explained. Whether Eric meant to attach the two orders of the state to his interests by granting them new favours, or whether he wisely concluded that it would be much better to regulate the exercise of a power so subject to abuse, than to attempt to restrain or to suppress it, without being able to succeed, he permitted, by this code, the lords of the fiefs to have their proper jurisdiction, and regulated at the same time the manner in which justice was to be administered in these new tribunals: they were called Birketing, and subsist in many parts of Denmark to this day.

With regard to the code itself, it remained in full force till the reign of Christophle of Bavaria, who made many changes in it; and it was the finishing act towards completing that state of slavery under which the poor people in Denmark have groaned ever since.

This prince, like many others of his ancestors, was afterwards murdered by those to whom he had been the greatest benefactor; his son Eric the Sixth succeeded him in the year 1286, the whole of whose reign, till very near the conclusion, was one continued scene of civil wars and confusion: however when this prince

prince had restored tranquillity in his states, he composed a code of feudal laws for Livonia, which was at this time a fief of the crown of Denmark; he confirmed the privileges which had before been granted to the inhabitants of Lubeck and of Rostock, and permitted them to have judges of their own nation, and to render justice according to their own laws and the laws of commerce, in all those differences which arose among themselves. I have already observed that they caught a great quantity of fish upon the coasts of Scania.

The inhabitants of these towns were the only people in the North, who applied themselves to commerce in those days, and who understood it; and in process of time they knew how to draw it all into their own hands. The three northern kings, and even their subjects, were in the same degree of ignorance and prejudices respecting this matter; they did not perceive any thing more in all the privileges which they granted so freely to these towns, than an encouragement granted to obscure men, of whom they were in want, to procure themselves the commodities of other countries, and to take off at a proper price the superfluity of their own: but at last they learnt, at their expence, that those who carry on the commerce of a nation will be very soon in a situation to give her laws.

Eric likewise took a good deal of pains to amend the jurisprudence of his own country; he published the laws of Zealand in six books, and made a collection of all the public acts, documents, and other papers, that were necessary to form a complete history of Denmark; a rare example of prudence and sagacity in those days. But after the death of this prince, his brother Christophle the Second, who was known to be a tyrant, in order

to engage the states to elevate him to the throne, promised them such excessive privileges and emoluments, and thereby drew himself into such embarrassments, that, to extricate himself, he undid every good act which his ancestors had done for several ages: resolving to reign at any price, he flattered the favourite passion of the nobility and clergy, and promised to make them independent, and partakers with him in the public administration. He had consented to take an oath, when he received the crown, that he would secure the clergy in all their privileges, possessions, and immunities; that he would not permit them to be accused before the lay-judges for any cause whatever; that he would not lay any tax upon them; and that the bishops should not be arrested, exiled, or deprived of their goods, but by the express order of the pope; nor the other ecclesiastics, but by an order of the tribunal before whom they ought to be judged: he likewise promised the nobility to grant them the power of condemning their delinquent subjects or vassals, even to the fine of three or nine marks, according to the custom of every province; that they should not be compelled to carry arms out of the kingdom; and that if, being in war, they were taken prisoners, the sovereign should ransom them in the course of a year, and pay them for all the losses they had suffered, before they should be obliged to serve again: that those who should refuse to go to war should not be troubled in the enjoyment of their privileges and immunities; that he would not undertake any war without the consent of the senators of the kingdom; that he would not grant any fiefs, castles, governments, or the places of senators to Germans; that he would demolish all the fortresses in Jutland, except those of Rypen, Colding, and Scanderbourg; that all those who had been obliged to leave the kingdom, and their heirs, should return again, and be re-instated in the possession of their

their lands, of which they had been unjustly deprived; and, in fact, that he would not disturb any of those persons who had ever opposed him in the preceding reign.

The commons of the kingdom would likewise, after the example of the two other orders, take advantage of the distressed situation of Christophle, and make the best terms they could for themselves: they made him promise that commerce should be free, and that he would not lay any custom or tax upon it, but in case of the greatest necessity, and then only with the consent of the senate; that he would repay to the merchants whatever sums he should borrow of them, and that they should not be obliged to pay any capitation tax; that those farmers who were free should not be obliged to any services against the laws and customs of the state; that an assembly of the states should be held every year at Nybourg; and that the laws of Valdemar should continue to be the laws of the kingdom, with only such additions as should be judged to be necessary: that no person should be accused immediately before the tribunal of the king, but that he should be first judged by the judges of his bailliage, and, if there was an appeal, by the assize of the province; but if he should appeal again, his case should be judged by the same assize, held in the presence of the king; and, at last, if any injustice should be done him, his case should be laid before the general assembly of the states: that no person should be imprisoned or condemned to lose his goods or his life without having been cited to appear before a legal tribunal, to defend himself in full security, accused publicly, and convicted judicially: that all the taxes established since the death of Valdemar the Second should be abolished; that those who carried off the effects of the merchants, which had been shipwrecked, should be punished as common robbers; and that the debts of the last king should
be

be paid: and lastly, that no new law should be made but in the general assembly of the states, and with their consent; and that it should be in concert with them, and not otherwise, that the king should augment, diminish, or change any of these articles.

It was upon these conditions that Christophle was raised to the throne; and it is certain that no king of Denmark had ever before signed a capitulation which limited his authority, and bound his hands as this did: and moreover, as he knew that the nobility and clergy, being rich and powerful, were jealous of their privileges and prerogatives, and liable to revolt upon the least attack that was made upon them, he was fearful of irritating them by not keeping his promises, which at his coronation he had sworn to do; he therefore resolved to gain them by his liberalities, and by fulfilling such parts of the stipulation as were the least disagreeable to him.

But while Christophle dissipated his own riches, as well as the riches of the kingdom, to make his pretended friends more ungrateful, he forgot the promise which he had made, and to which he had sworn, of not raising any taxes without the consent of the states; and the necessity of replacing the treasures, which he had most prodigally dissipated, became so very pressing, that, without consulting the states or even the senate, he on a sudden laid a general tax upon all his subjects of what denomination soever: the nobility were to pay the tenth of all their revenues, and the clergy and commons were equally charged in proportion to their funds. Surprized at such a daring act of oppression, the whole kingdom was immediately alarmed and ready for a revolt: the archbishop of Lunden, in the name of the clergy, and of the other orders, declared to the king that they would not submit to

pay this tax, and moreover threatened him that they would pay no regard to the oath which they had taken to be obedient to him, since he paid so little regard to his. Startled at such a menace, Christophle was obliged to desist from his project; but, in the indignation which this motion of the states caused in him, he entered upon another which was no less detrimental to his proper interests; and this was to withdraw by force all the crown lands and the provinces from the hands of those to whom they had been engaged, and not to pay any debts which the king his brother, or himself, had contracted.

Upon which all the creditors of the crown, who had been dispossessed by the king of the lands and other emoluments which they held as a security for their debts, entered into a league, which became as dangerous as that which the archbishop had threatened; which at last ended in a civil war, that continued during the whole reign of this unfortunate prince: all those who were discontented united themselves to the former, and with them many of those to whom Christophle had been the most liberal, and who had been the cause of drawing him into this embarrassment.

This prince died in the year 1333, and after an interregnum of eight years, during which the government was almost torn in pieces by civil wars and usurpations, his second son Valdemar the Third was elected king: but this reign was not more happy than the preceding; a continued scene of domestic and foreign wars gave this prince continual alarms. The Hanse towns, which were now grown rich and powerful by commerce, to which the crown of Denmark had greatly contributed, declared war against Valdemar, and carried their ravages into the heart of his kingdom;

dom; and with the assistance of some of the neighbouring powers, after having reduced the state to the greatest misery, forced the king to conclude a peace upon their own terms; but before he could make any regulations in his government, which had been almost dissolved by such a continued scene of war and confusion, death changed the scene, and his grandson Olaus, the son of Haquin king of Norway, and of Margaret his daughter, was elected king, with the title of Olaus the Third, by the states of the kingdom: his mother Margaret was also, in the assembly of the states, declared regent of the kingdom during the minority of her son; but not till she had promised and sworn, both for herself and for her son, to sign the capitulation which had been signed by Christophle the Second.

Olaus owed his advancement to the crown entirely to the good-will of the states; as his mother was only the second daughter of Valdemar, the eldest being married to a duke of Mecklenburg, and had likewise a son, who took the title of the legitimate heir of Denmark; and therefore the Danes likewise took this opportunity to ensure themselves of the support of their laws, liberties, and privileges.

Soon after, in the year 1380, Haquin king of Norway died, and left that crown, and his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, to the young king of Denmark, who was now only ten years of age, and who died seven years after, before he took the reins of government out of the hands of his mother.

The Danes, seeing themselves in this situation, resolved immediately to choose Margaret for their sovereign, not only because she had already signed the capitulation before-mentioned

for the security of their liberties and privileges, but because, as they said, she was the daughter of Valdemar, and the mother of Olaus, and because they were satisfied with the gentleness of her administration.

The senate of Norway likewise declared in the name of the states of this kingdom, that they would give this princess the power of governing their kingdom during her life, with all the authority that their laws granted to the kings of Norway; and that, after her death, the sceptre should pass, in consequence of the order of succession established by the same laws, to Eric son of Wratiflas duke of Pomerania, and of Mary daughter of Ingueburge, the eldest sister of Margaret, as being, since the death of the nephew of Margaret, who died in the beginning of this year, the nearest male heir of this queen; and that they excluded the duke of Mecklenburg for having carried arms against the kingdom. This choice gave immediately the title of king to Eric, which was what was wished for both by the queen and as well by the Norwegians: the latter had some difficulty to reconcile themselves to the idea of obeying a woman, their ancient laws even expressly forbade them to do it; and therefore, not to be too much offended by this novelty, they would at least see a prince near the throne with the title of king. On the other hand, the queen, too jealous of her authority to partake it even with a husband, could not wish to be in a more agreeable situation than to see an infant, of five years old, who was to be her successor, whom she was to govern for so long a time. Margaret, seeing herself fixed upon the thrones of Denmark and Norway, turned her thoughts towards Sweden, where Albert the Second, son of the duke of Mecklenburg, had been elected king, to the exclusion of the king of Norway her husband; and find-
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ing that the power of this prince was greatly diminished by the acts of oppression and tyranny which he had committed, she took every method to foment the divisions which had been raised between him and his subjects, which was no very difficult matter to do at this time; and by her great liberality, and the intrigues of the clergy whom she had brought over to her interests, she at length established a considerable party in Sweden, who beholding the acts of oppression and tyranny that Albert was daily practising, declared Margaret to be queen of Sweden, put all the fortresses, which were in their hands, into her power, and promised to do nothing without her consent and without her orders. The queen, on her part, engaged to maintain the liberties and privileges of every order of the state, to deliver them from the tyranny of Albert, and to govern them according to their laws. Undoubtedly there was no prince, in such circumstances, who would not have made the same kind of promise; but the Swedes had the experience of Margaret's government in Denmark and in Norway, and therefore both the senate and the states agreed to this act without any difficulty; and when Albert endeavoured to oppose it, he was beaten and taken prisoner by the Danish army.

The queen having now succeeded in her favourite project of uniting the three kingdoms of the North under one head, proceeded to elect Eric king of Sweden; and for this purpose she assembled the states of Sweden near Upsal, and addressed to them a long speech in favour of Eric, pointing out the advantages that would arise to each of the northern kingdoms by their being united under one head; in short, renewed the promises which she had made them of the security of their privileges, of the abolition of all extraordinary taxes, and of redressing the grievances
of

of every order of the states. Supported by such a powerful recommendation, the young king of Norway was solemnly elected king of Sweden, under the protection and the administration of Margaret; an administration of which she alone was to determine the duration, as there was never any question put upon this delicate article.

Soon after the queen assembled the states again at Nyköping, where they gave each other reciprocal marks of the greatest confidence, and of the desire they had to live in harmony and peace with each other. It was here mutually agreed, that all the domains of the crown, which had been alienated by the late king, should be restored immediately, and that the new fortresses, which served only as a retreat for turbulent and factious persons, should be destroyed: that the nobility should be restored to the possession of all the lands of which they had been dispossessed during the wars: that the mines of copper should be made a part of the domains of the crown: that all the laws of the late king Albert should be revoked: and that, when the queen should judge it proper, the states should send their deputies with full powers at the time and to the place which were to be marked for the assembling of the states of the three kingdoms of the North, by their united deputies, and that they might establish among themselves a permanent peace and concord.

On the seventeenth of June, in the following year 1397, the queen convoked the states of the three kingdoms to Calmar, where she met them herself, and caused Eric to be crowned with great magnificence: but what made this assembly the most remarkable of any perhaps that ever happened in the North, was, that she engaged the states to make the union of these three govern-

governments under one monarch a fundamental and irrevocable law, and very ably represented to them all the advantages that would result from such a union. All these proposed by an eloquent princefs, supported by a concourse of favourable circumstances, by the credit of the clergy, and by the acclamations of the Danes, by whom she was almost adored, could not fail to have a great influence upon the assembly, so that the states consented unanimously to make this a fundamental law, which was received by the three nations.

As this law, called in the North, The Union of Calmar, is so famous in this part of the world, and was the foundation of a long war between Denmark and Sweden, it will be necessary that I should translate and insert it whole and entire: “ Be it
 “ known to all those who shall see or hear these presents, to
 “ those who are alive at present, or who may be born hereafter,
 “ that we the states, senates, bishops, nobles, and commons of
 “ the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, hav-
 “ ing freely, and with one consent, and with the advice of the
 “ most high princefs our gracious queen Margaret, elected,
 “ and acknowledged for our legal lord and king, the king Eric;
 “ and having afterwards crowned him here at Calmar, and
 “ placed him upon the royal throne, to the end that he may
 “ reign over the three before-mentioned kingdoms, and enjoy
 “ therein all the prerogatives which belong to a crowned king
 “ both in spiritual and temporal matters: at the same time also
 “ the states of the three kingdoms, by virtue of the powers
 “ which have been confided to them, and with the advice and
 “ consent of our lord the king Eric, and of the most high lady
 “ the queen Margaret, have unanimously resolved upon, regu-
 “ lated, and concluded a peace, alliance, and a perpetual and
 “ inviolable

“ inviolable union of the three kingdoms in the manner and
 “ tenor following: the three kingdoms will acknowledge the
 “ king Eric for their legal lord as long as he shall live, and
 “ after his death they will not choose in future but one and the
 “ same king, and not three or more as they have heretofore
 “ done, so that the said kingdoms shall never be separated, if it
 “ is the will of God. After the death of the reigning king
 “ one king only shall be elected for the three kingdoms, and
 “ not several kings; and in future neither of the three king-
 “ doms shall elect itself a king, but with the full and free con-
 “ sent of the others united. If it shall please God to give one
 “ or more sons to the present king, one of these sons only shall
 “ be elected and declared king of the three kingdoms; the
 “ others shall receive fiefs. And if the king shall only leave
 “ daughters, the states will follow in this respect what the law
 “ ordains. If the king shall only leave one son, he shall be
 “ elected king of the three kingdoms; but if the king dies
 “ without any children, then the senators, and the states depu-
 “ ties of the three kingdoms in concert, with the Divine assist-
 “ ance, shall elect him whom they believe before God to be
 “ the most worthy and the most capable of the government.
 “ After that, no person shall oppose nor make any objections to
 “ such election. The three kingdoms shall always keep up a
 “ good and amiable intelligence among themselves, so that one
 “ shall not separate itself from the others, under any pretence
 “ whatever; and whatever shall happen to one, whether it be
 “ a war or an insult from any foreign power, it shall equally
 “ concern the three; and they will succour each other faithfully
 “ with all their forces, as making only one state, although each
 “ shall preserve its laws and liberties. The king shall govern
 “ his kingdom of Denmark according to the laws and customs
 “ of

“ of Denmark ; and those of Sweden and Norway, according to
 “ their respective laws and customs : he shall not use the laws
 “ and customs of one kingdom in another. If any foreign power
 “ shall declare war against one of the kingdoms, the two others
 “ shall succour it with their whole forces by sea as well as by
 “ land, when the king, or some other person in his name, shall
 “ give the orders so to do : when one kingdom shall send a
 “ body of forces to succour another, it shall likewise provide for
 “ the support of the troops it shall send, to the end that the
 “ country do not suffer. With regard to the service of those
 “ who shall be commanded to their pay, and to the ransom for
 “ prisoners, it is the king alone who is to take care that those
 “ things shall be properly regulated. If any foreign power shall
 “ make war upon one of the three kingdoms, the others shall
 “ not excuse themselves from giving such assistance as is neces-
 “ sary, under pretence that they are not obliged to any service
 “ out of their proper limits, but each kingdom shall aid the
 “ others, and bear a part of their burthen, when it is necessary,
 “ because that they are all under the same king, and are re-
 “ garded as one kingdom. All the differences and offences
 “ which may have happened between the three kingdoms for
 “ some time past should never be renewed, nor be brought again
 “ to public view, but should be buried and forgotten. One
 “ kingdom shall not commit any act of hostility against another,
 “ and shall avoid as much as possible every thing which may
 “ occasion it : they ought to act as having but one and the same
 “ king. Every person shall submit himself to the laws ; and,
 “ be who he will, whether noble or ignoble, shall content him-
 “ self with his rights and privileges, and take care that he do
 “ not offend or oppress an inferior by any insult and vexation.
 “ Every person should obey God and the king, respect his orders

“ and the officers who hold their places under him, to punish
“ those who are undutiful. If any person is justly banished
“ from one of the kingdoms, he shall be equally so from the
“ two others, and no person shall assist or defend him; but
“ wherever he shall be followed and cited, they shall proceed to
“ judgment against him according to law. If our lord the king
“ shall enter into any agreement or treaty with any foreign
“ power, in which of the kingdoms soever he shall then reside,
“ he, and the senate who are then with him, or some depu-
“ ties from each kingdom, shall have the power to contract in
“ the name of the three kingdoms, every thing which shall be
“ judged the most pious, honest, and advantageous for the king
“ and the said three kingdoms. The foregoing articles should
“ always be observed, and interpreted in a manner which shall
“ turn the most to the glory of God and to the advantage of
“ our lord the king and his kingdoms. If any one shall oppose
“ them, then the three kingdoms shall aid the king and his
“ officers to suppress such opposition, and to maintain the ob-
“ servation of these articles. The queen Margaret shall govern,
[“ administer, possess, and keep, without any hindrance, and
“ during her natural life, and with all the rights of royalty, all
“ that the kings her father and her son granted her during their
“ lives, and by their testaments; and also all that she received
“ in Sweden as a marriage present, and the jointure that the
“ states of Sweden granted her, together with what she possessed
“ under the same titles in Norway; and all that the king Ha-
“ quin her husband, and the king Olaus her son, have given
“ her during their lives, or by their testaments, with this pro-
“ viso however, that these provinces, fiefs, and castles, shall re-
“ turn to the king at her death.” The following articles con-
cern the particular interests of this queen, to whom the states

promised to preserve her privileges, and never to disobey her laws and ordinances; after which this act of union concludes as follows: “ And for to confirm the articles above-mentioned, “ and that they may be maintained, fixed, inviolable, and perpetual, it has been judged convenient to give each kingdom “ two copies of this act, written upon parchment, and examined “ and corrected by this which is written here; and that this act “ be sealed with the seal of the king, of the queen, and with “ those of the senators, deputies, and trading towns of each of “ the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. And “ that all these articles may be observed and executed in every “ point as they are above expressed, we the archbishops, bishops, “ nobles, and deputies of the three kingdoms have freely and “ voluntarily hereunto affixed our seals. Done at Calmar in the “ year 1397, on the day of the feast of St. Margaret.”

Thus did Margaret, without giving more than one battle, without oppressing either the people in general or the particulars, subdue this great kingdom, and secure the possession of it to herself and to her successors; and after having governed the three kingdoms, as a great and able princess, in peace and tranquillity till the year 1412, she died suddenly, and left king Eric in peaceable possession of the three northern crowns.

The character of this great princess has been variously exhibited; the Danes speak of her with the greatest respect and veneration, and so do likewise the Norwegians; but the Swedes vilify her with great bitterness, for having endeavoured, as they pretend, to deprive them of some of their liberties and privileges. But as it is well known that the inhabitants of this kingdom, in those days, were ready for a revolt upon every trifling occasion,

it was not to be wondered that this great princess, who knew their character so well, should now and then treat them with a little severity, to keep them to their duty.

Eric had been crowned king of the three northern kingdoms for fifteen years past, but had not exercised the regal authority but for a very short time, however in this short space all his subjects perceived that he was not calculated to hold the reins of such a vast empire, and to cement that union which alone would be the basis of his grandeur. Margaret, who had made every other project subordinate to that of rendering this union durable, soon perceived that peace and time alone were capable of bringing this work to perfection; and that the subjects of the three kingdoms, in time, would become habituated to regard each other as fellow citizens and friends; but that nevertheless the royal authority would extend itself by degrees, so that at length all would be subjected to it.

But the politics of Margaret, her vices, and her maxims were buried with her; so much circumspection appeared a weakness to a prince impetuous, of a little genius, and whose head was turned with his grandeur.

Soon after the death of the queen he was engaged in a war with the counts of Holstein, and afterwards with the Hanse towns, which took off his attention from Sweden, and led this weak prince into such an embarrassment that he never after extricated himself from it. It was to check the growing power of these republicans that the king built the famous fortress at Elsenor, which was as a key to the passage of the Sound that joined the Baltic sea with the ocean, and the principal channel through
4 which

which they drew their riches. Eric opened and shut this passage at his pleasure; and afterwards demanded a tribute of every merchant ship which came into or went out of the Baltic.

This was a terrible blow to the commerce of those towns, but they made Eric pay severely afterwards for his imprudence; a fleet of 240 sail of ships, which carried 12000 land forces, ravaged all the sea coasts of Denmark and Norway, drove Eric from his capital, and had it not been for the prudent conduct of his queen Philippine, they would have taken and burnt Copenhagen.

During these troubles in Denmark, the Swedes threatened Eric with some terrible catastrophe, which, from his extreme inattention and obstinacy, he pretended at first not to fear. His long and unhappy wars with the counts of Holstein and the Hanse towns had made him levy great bodies of men and great sums of money in this kingdom, which appeared to be so much the more disagreeable to the Swedes, as they could not apprehend that they should receive any benefit from it: but what chagrined them the most was, that the king, always occupied with his other affairs, disregarded them, and notwithstanding his engagements and their frequent complaints left them to be oppressed by Danish or German governors whom he sent among them, till they rose in rebellion against him: but afterwards, through the intercession of the Hanse towns, Eric consented that a diet should be held at Calmar, composed of the deputies of the three kingdoms, to which the king went in person, accompanied by several of the Danish nobility, and some deputies from Hamburg, Lubeck, Wismar, and Lunenburg, on the 27th of July 1436.

Eric,

Eric, who now thought himself very happy, and was well satisfied that he had nothing else to do but to make new promises to repair his imprudences and to recover a kingdom, engaged himself to re-establish the Swedes in all their privileges, and not to entrust any of their strong places in future to the care of strangers. On the other hand, the states of Sweden promised to renew their oaths of fidelity to him as to their sovereign, and to renew the famous act of union, which was here concluded in the year 1397, with the following additions :

“ We will acknowledge again the king Eric as the sole and
 “ legal king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway : these king-
 “ doms shall remain for ever united under one head ; but each
 “ kingdom shall, at the same time, preserve its particular laws
 “ and liberties. In each kingdom the king shall be obliged to
 “ confer the following dignities upon the natives of the country,
 “ namely, that of the grand-bailiff, who is to do justice accord-
 “ ing to the laws with the same authority as if the king him-
 “ self was present ; that of the grand-marshal, who is charged
 “ with the execution of the sentences, and of the command of
 “ the armies ; that of the grand-master of the household, who
 “ has the direction of the king’s household and of his lands and
 “ castles ; and that of the chancellor, to whom the seals of the
 “ kingdom are confided. The king may dispose of the other
 “ offices of his court to any subject of the three kingdoms whom
 “ he shall think proper. Every year he shall visit his three king-
 “ doms, and reside one-third part of the year in each. In
 “ these journeys he should always be accompanied by two sena-
 “ tors of each kingdom. In the time of war the three king-
 “ doms shall succour each other reciprocally, as if they had been
 “ but one, and one of them should never declare war without
 “ the

“ the consent of the other two. The election of the kings
“ should always be at Helmstadt, then situated upon the borders
“ of the three kingdoms, by the deputies of the three states,
“ namely, by forty deputies from each of the states, making to-
“ gether 120 deputies. If the king leaves a legitimate son, he
“ shall be preferred in the election; if he leaves many sons,
“ that son shall be preferred who is thought to be the most
“ worthy, without having any regard to his age; if he leaves
“ only a daughter, she is to be married in a manner suitable to
“ her rank. If the king dies without children, in order to know
“ in which kingdom they shall chuse a new king, the names of
“ the three kingdoms shall be written upon three pieces of paper,
“ and that which a child shall draw is the kingdom to be pre-
“ ferred; then the 120 electors shall take an oath and proceed
“ to the election: if they cannot agree among themselves, the
“ forty deputies of each kingdom shall form a committee, com-
“ posed of four members of their body, two ecclesiastics and two
“ laymen, making together twelve deputies, who, after having
“ taken a new oath, shall shut themselves up together in a house,
“ from whence they are not to go out till they are unanimously
“ agreed: then the person who shall be in this manner elected
“ shall be declared king. For what regards the customs, the
“ money, and other things of this nature, they are to be or-
“ dered by the king, in conjunction with his senate, in the
“ manner that shall be the most advantageous to his kingdom,
“ as he shall answer it before God.”

Hence, therefore, it is clear, that the states of the three king-
doms still wished sincerely that their union was maintained; and
since after so many false measures, imprudences, troubles, and
civil wars, they re-established of themselves, and only by the
vigour

vigour of their constitution, this formidable union, how easily might a prince, who had but a little share of political knowledge, have cemented it, and made it the basis of a solid and permanent grandeur.

But Eric pursued a very different plan; this prince seeing himself sovereign of three great kingdoms, supposed that his power placed him above all the laws and privileges of these kingdoms, and that his will was the supreme law: he treated the Danes and the Norwegians much in the same way that he had treated the Swedes, and pretended to reign in a despotic manner; and without having any regard for those who would willingly be his subjects, but who would not suffer themselves to be treated as slaves: such a tyrannical dominion made the three kingdoms rise in rebellion against him, so that he had not any faithful subjects left to oppose the insurrections of the rebels.

The Danes forced him at length to abandon the kingdom, and elected Christophle of Bavaria, his sister's son, to be their king.

When we examine the conduct of this prince during the whole course of his life, it will immediately be perceived that his character was diametrically opposite to that of Margaret, and consequently very improper to accomplish the great work which she had begun. This princess, with a very extensive genius, was prudent, and at the same time humane, and never undertook any enterprize before she had heard the sentiments of different persons upon it, and then formed her opinion and plan from the whole. Eric, on the contrary, was incapable of moderating his passion, and of following any advice even in the most critical situation; but,

but, without examining into the nature of the thing, followed the instinct of his own impetuosity. The former paved the way to success by her intrigues, and rather chose to wait the proper moment for the execution of her plan, than to leave any thing to hazard: the other as soon as he had proposed any enterprize to himself, which perhaps might be proper in itself, bent his whole force towards carrying it into execution, and saw no difficulties in it till he fell into them. The former, fertile in projects and resources, always gained something when she could not accomplish the whole: the other, obstinately bent upon having every thing, in the end lost every thing. Instead of endeavouring to make his subjects forget that he was a stranger, he took every method to make that name disagreeable in his three kingdoms, by the confidence and liberalities which he granted to the Germans his own countrymen, while his subjects were disregarded. It was a great unhappiness for Eric to have lived so long after the death of his queen Philippine, and not to have had any children: his not having any issue was the cause that he took no pains to gain the esteem and affections of his subjects, but made his own will his law; and rather than conform himself to the ancient laws and customs of the state, he abdicated the crown.

Christophle of Bavaria, his nephew, was almost unanimously elected king, who, soon after he had taken possession of the crown of Denmark and that of Norway, found means likewise to bring the Swedes to consent to his being their king. This prince was crowned at Copenhagen in Denmark, and afterwards resolved to make that town his residence, and the capital of this kingdom; before this æra these privileges were enjoyed by the town of Roschild.

Christophle, the better to promote the union of his subjects, ordered a new code of laws to be formed, and afterwards published for the general use of all the towns and provinces in Denmark, much upon the plan of that of Valdemar the Second.

He reigned only seven years over Denmark and Norway, and six over Sweden; and during his whole reign he shewed the greatest marks of moderation, and of the desire which he had to make himself useful and agreeable to his subjects: the remarkable speech which he made to the principal nobility of his kingdom, when he found himself drawing near to his end, evinces his intentions in the clearest light:

“ You have always, said he, regarded me with an evil eye,
 “ from a supposition that, after the example of my uncle, I
 “ should amass all the treasure that I could, and then relinquish
 “ the kingdom with it in my fleet; but I can assure you such a
 “ thing never entered into my mind; and I would to God that
 “ it was not rather your fault than his that my uncle quitted the
 “ kingdom: for my own part, I have spared the public treasure
 “ as much as I could to be in a situation to declare war against
 “ Lubeck, which is absolutely necessary for the glory and inte-
 “ rest of this state; for you yourselves are witnesses what pre-
 “ judice this city has done my kingdoms. As I am there-
 “ fore going to quit this world, you should think of choosing
 “ yourselves a king who will endeavour to promote your true
 “ interests.”

For more than 100 years before this æra no king of Denmark had ever left any male heirs, and therefore the death of Christophle, by leaving these three kingdoms vacant, whilst many

pretended to occupy them, and whilst it was difficult to know which had the justest right, made great confusion in the three northern governments.

The senate of Denmark immediately notified the death of the king to the states of the two other kingdoms; and at the same time invited them to comply with the act of union of queen Margaret, which was renewed by her successor, and confirmed and regarded as a fundamental law of the three kingdoms, and to proceed in concert to the election of a new king. But the Swedes paid no regard to this act of union, notwithstanding they had so frequently and so solemnly sworn to observe it, and immediately elected Charles Canutson, their own countryman, and the avowed enemy of Denmark, their king.

Surprized at such an open infraction of the union of Calmar, the Danes immediately assembled a particular diet at Roschild, and elected Christian of Oldenburg to be their king, who was descended from Eric the Fifth king of Denmark, well knowing the disposition of Canutson, and resolving never to receive laws from such a master. But, before Christian of Oldenburg was elected, the senate drew up some articles of capitulation for him to sign, which, as will be hereafter observed, were to regulate his future government; the senate had taken upon themselves to do this, as the union of Calmar had given rise to many new regulations in this government: the difficulty of assembling a diet composed of the diets of the three kingdoms appeared to be so great, in fact it really was, that they were obliged to leave the election to a small number of deputies, who were all or the greatest part senators.

From this time forward the senate of Denmark attributed to themselves the right of giving masters to their nation; the states were only now and then consulted out of form, and a very dangerous aristocracy was framed out of the ancient liberties of the people. After the abdication of Eric the Seventh the senate did not hesitate to call Christophle to the throne from their own authority, and without any participation of the states; and in this case they attributed to themselves the right of prescribing, as they thought proper, the articles of capitulation to Christian the First before he was invested with the royal authority. The nobles, though they were at this time extremely proud and powerful, accustomed themselves to assist only at elections, to approve what the senate had before decided.

In this manner were the elections of the kings of Denmark made till the time of Frederick the Third, when the clergy and the commons began to awake out of the lethargy into which they had long since been plunged, re-claimed the right which their predecessors had always exercised of concurring in the election of their kings, and indicated that a revolution was then formed in the minds of the people, and that it would be soon followed by another in the government. The senate, by making themselves masters of the election of their kings, concluded that they had likewise the right to prescribe to them what conditions they thought proper, and by this means they robbed both the king and the people of their principal privileges to annex them to their own, which were already but too extensive.

It will be seen from the following articles of capitulation how the senate appropriated to themselves an exclusive right of granting the king the permission to make peace and war, and to lay
taxes

taxes upon the people, which had always before been submitted to the authority of the states; and as well all the matters of any importance which concerned the government of the nation.

The articles of capitulation which were drawn up for Christian the First were as follows; First, The government of Denmark shall continue to be free, and the kingdom elective. Secondly, If the king shall die without leaving any children, his heirs shall have no pretensions to any thing which he shall leave in the kingdom. Thirdly, He shall not be authorized to call any foreign prince or noble into the kingdom, nor to assign him any revenue, nor to give him any lands in the kingdom, nor to admit him into the senate, without the consent of the majority of this body. Fourthly, The king shall not be authorized to make war or peace, nor to undertake any important enterprize, nor to give the command of any fortrefs, but with the consent and approbation of the senate. Fifthly, He shall not waste or send out of the kingdom any of the jewels or precious effects of the crown, or any of the documents or records which appertain to the state. Sixthly, He shall not mortgage or alienate any lands or fortresses that depend upon the crown, except necessity shall oblige him to do it; and then he shall not do it but with the consent of the senate. Seventhly, He shall conform himself to the advice of the senate with regard to the manner in which he ought to keep his court. Eighthly, He shall not establish any tax without the consent of the senate. Ninthly, He shall not lodge any of his men in the monasteries, or in the houses of the farmers, so that they shall be a charge to them. Tenthly, No stranger shall be received into the kingdom as a tutor or guardian of any of the royal family, except he shall be named by the law. Eleventhly, All those who at the death of the late king were
in

in possession of any fief, rent, privilege, or collation, shall continue in the peaceable enjoyment of them ; but all the letters of attain, which were granted by the late king, shall be null and of no effect.

Christian signed these articles of capitulation, and moreover promised to renew and confirm them at his coronation : no prince ever before came to the throne of Denmark with such a limited authority. But I should have observed, that although the kingdom of Denmark is stipulated by this act to be an elective kingdom, we are not to regard it as a kingdom absolutely elective, such as Poland, for example. The practice had always been in this kingdom first to elect a male of the royal family, while any males were to be found in that family ; and afterwards, when there were no more males, to elect a female of that family, or the male heirs of such a female ; but without having any regard to the priority of birth ; consequently this kingdom cannot be said to have been an elective kingdom, according to the general acceptation of the word ; but must rather have been called a kingdom that was elective, but where the election was always to be made out of a particular family. It is true that the union of Calmar seemed to have, in some measure, changed this mode of election, by giving the states an unlimited right of election when the last king did not leave a son ; but there is great reason to believe that the senate had not the union of Calmar in view, when they formed these articles of capitulation with Christian the First, and that the nation had not changed the mode of electing their king.

After having signed the articles of capitulation, Christian was proclaimed king with great pomp and solemnity ; and as this
prince

prince had shewn a great moderation in all his actions, and no less facility to secure the Danes in their rights and privileges, it had a particular effect upon the majority of the Norwegians, and at length determined them to follow the example of the Danes, and to elect Christian also to be their king. The states being assembled at Opslo, examined the proposal of this prince, which was for their conforming to the treaty of union, and immediately resolved that this king, being the nearest in blood to queen Margaret, was by the laws of Norway the next heir to the throne of their kingdom; and therefore for promoting the happiness and security of the two nations they acknowledged him to be the legal king of Norway.

Christian seeing himself now master of two of the northern kingdoms, took every method which an artful and prudent prince could take to become likewise master of the third; and from the ill conduct of the king of Sweden he at length succeeded, obliged that king to abdicate the throne, and was himself proclaimed and crowned king at Upsal: so that the three northern kingdoms were again united under one head in conformity to the union of Calmar.

Fortune now seemed to be propitious to Christian; for no sooner had he succeeded to his wishes in Sweden, than the death of the duke of Sleswic was announced to him; and as the duchy of Sleswic and the county of Holstein, which this duke possessed, were fiefs of the crown of Denmark, and as the duke died without leaving any heirs, Christian, as a near relation of the late duke, would undoubtedly have had very just pretensions to those territories; but, before he was elected king, he had entered into an agreement with the late duke never to unite those
terri-

territories to the crown of Denmark, and therefore this artful prince took every prudent step to evade his promise, and at the same time to secure this valuable succession to himself; for which purpose he assembled the states of Sleswic and Holstein, laid his natural claim before them, together with the engagement which he had entered into with the late duke, and desired them to propose what terms they pleased for the security of their rights and privileges, if they would elect him to be their master. Charmed with the moderation of so great a king, the states did not hesitate a moment to comply with his request, and immediately prepared the following articles, which the king signed, and swore to observe before all the saints:

“ First, The king shall acknowledge that he has been elected
 “ duke of Sleswic and count of Holstein by the free choice of the
 “ states, and that that has engaged him to preserve their privi-
 “ ledges, to defend them, and to procure them all the advantages
 “ possible. Secondly, He promises that the inhabitants of Lu-
 “ beck shall enjoy all the privileges respecting their commerce,
 “ which they enjoyed during the reign of the late duke. Thirdly,
 “ He acknowledges to have been elected duke of Sleswic and
 “ count of Holstein, not as king of Denmark, but by the free
 “ will of the states; that his children shall not succeed him but
 “ by virtue of such a free election, and that the states shall enjoy
 “ for ever the right of electing their princes. Fourthly, He
 “ promises never to raise any money without the consent of the
 “ states, and that he will not oblige any person to follow him
 “ in a war out of the limits of the two provinces. Fifthly,
 “ He promises to establish, with the consent of the senate, or at
 “ least with the consent of the counsellors of the province, a great
 “ bailiff, native of the country, to preside over the administration
 “ of

“ of justice in Sleswic, and a marshal for the same purpose in
 “ Holstein, both the one and the other of which shall have
 “ power to order the assizes to be held in convenient places.
 “ Sixthly, The king promises likewise to assist at these assizes
 “ every year; and to use his utmost efforts to maintain peace
 “ in the provinces, and that they shall not be divided on any
 “ occasion whatever. Seventhly, He promises to prevent, as much
 “ as possible, his stay in the country from being burthensome
 “ to any of the inhabitants, by the number of persons whom he
 “ brings with him, and that he will pay all the expences for the
 “ accommodation of his followers. Eighthly, The king is ex-
 “ tremely sensible of what he owes to the good-will of the states;
 “ and in consideration thereof, he promises to grant a recompence
 “ to all those who may suffer any prejudice from his election, of
 “ what nature soever. Ninthly, He engages likewise to ratify
 “ any act that the great bailiff or the marshal, in concert with
 “ the senate of their respective provinces, shall pass for the good
 “ of the state in his absence. Tenthly, He promises that all
 “ the foreign merchandizes which the clergy and the nobility
 “ shall import for their own use, and not for traffic, shall be ex-
 “ empt from the payment of any kind of tax.” Soon afterwards
 this politic and prudent prince confirmed all the privileges which
 he had granted them, and even added the following articles
 thereto: “ First, He promised to hold a provincial assembly
 “ every year; and that he would not engage any lands to the
 “ queen, or to any stranger whatever, without the consent of
 “ the senate. Secondly, He promised that no other money
 “ should have currency in those provinces but that of Hamburg
 “ or of Lubeck; that supposing he left only one son at his death,
 “ who was king of Denmark, &c. the states should be at liberty
 “ to refuse electing him as duke of Sleswic and count of Hol-

“stein, before he had subscribed to these conditions; and if he
“should refuse to do it, then they should be at liberty to elect
“his nearest relation.”

If concessions of this nature deprived Christian of a part of the fruits of his intrigues, they served undoubtedly to ensure him the possession of the rest, as the states of Sleswic and of Holstein could not gain any thing by a change.

When the king saw himself fixed in the possession of those provinces, he immediately summoned the inhabitants of Hamburg to render him the homage due to him, as count of Holstein, which was complied with by all the senators and inhabitants of that city; who at the same time demanded a confirmation of their privileges; to which the king answered nearly in the following words: “I receive you as my subjects, I confirm
“all your privileges, and I promise you all the support and all
“the protection that a good prince owes to his people.”

Thus did this wise and politic prince gain two provinces, which were of the greatest importance to Denmark, without drawing his sword, and without harassing either his subjects or his neighbours; and from his natural love of peace and good order would, in all appearance, have kept his extensive dominions in great harmony and tranquillity: but the Swedes, whose turbulent disposition in those days would not bear any kind of controul, rose in rebellion against the government; the archbishop of Upsal threw off his robes and put himself at the head of an army; and from this moment nothing was seen in Sweden but tyranny, faction, and civil wars, disguised under the names of patriotism and public liberty. The great moderation of Christian

and

and his apparent good intentions, after a long struggle, brought the archbishop of Upsal, and almost all the clergy, over to his interests; but he never could subdue the nobles, who were now become fond of confusion and ravage, and of enriching themselves by plunder.

Christian, on the other hand, finding that very little was to be done with these turbulent people, and unwilling to be disturbed continually by a civil war, gave over all thoughts of reconciling them, and employed his whole attention to improve his other dominions.

Heretofore all the nobility and people of fashion in Denmark had been accustomed to send their sons, at a great expence to Cologne, to Paris, and to other parts for their education: Christian, seeing this inconveniency, applied to the pope for permission to establish a university in his dominions, which was immediately granted, and a university was founded at Copenhagen in the year 1475, which this wise and prudent prince took every means to encourage and support; but, as will be seen hereafter, his endeavours were not so well seconded by the clergy, to whom he recommended the execution of his plan, nor by his successors.

In the course of the great plans which this virtuous and learned king was projecting to promote the welfare and happiness of his people, he was surprized by the general enemy of mankind, in the year 1481, and in the 55th year of his age.

The greatest part of the historians of those times concur in saying, that he was a prince of great humanity and liberality; that his clemency and good-nature always overcame his resent-

ment ; and that he always held it as a maxim, that a king who would be great, and reign well, ought to be more compaffionate than another man.

It does not appear that any prince, who ever mounted the throne of Denmark, did fo much to promote the peace and happinefs of his fubjects as Chriftian the Firft ; he corrected, as much as poffible, the abufes which were introduced among the clergy, and caufed juftice to be adminiftered with the greateft exactnefs and impartiality, and undoubtedly he deferves a diftinguifhed place among the heroes of moderation, good-nature, and integrity, virtues which give the greateft luftre to royalty, and which will always appear greater in the eyes of men of fenfe and reafon than the vulgar.

The death of Chriftian the Firft made no great alteration in the government of Denmark ; his fon John had been received as heir to his father's crown during his life-time ; and though he was at this time but twenty-fix years of age, there was the greateft appearance of his being alfo heir to his father's virtues. The fenate of Denmark, in conjunction with that of Norway, refolved to fend their deputies to hold a diet at Helmftadt, and invited the Swedes to do the fame, to the end that they might agree upon the election of a king for the three kingdoms, in conformity to the treaty of union of the years 1397 and 1436. The Swedes made fome difficulty at firft, but at length they agreed with the Danes and Norwegians to acknowledge John as their legal king ; but not till he had agreed to fome new articles which were then propofed to be added to the treaties of union before-mentioned ; namely, “ That three fenators of each kingdom
“ fhall afsemble every year to treat of fuch affairs as fhall concern
“ the

“ the common interest of the three kingdoms; and that this
“ assembly shall be held successively one year at Kongsbakke;
“ another at Løedese, and the third at Kongelle.” These three
places, though in the neighbourhood of each other, were situated
in the three kingdoms.

Moreover, before the Swedes would consent to this election, they obliged the king to promise a general pardon for all the violences which they had committed in his father's time, and in general to preserve the liberties and privileges of every order of the state: but the nobility particularly insisted that the king should support them in the possession and government of their lands, with a full and absolute authority, so that every lord of a manor, whether ecclesiastic or laic, should have a sovereign authority over all the farmers and others who lived within his manor; except in such cases which were excepted by the laws, which were in fact of no consequence: so that the so much extolled liberty of this kingdom was nothing more than the authority which a few of their principal men extorted from their kings to oppress and enslave the common people.

After having restored peace and tranquillity in this kingdom, John turned his attention to the dominions which his father had acquired in Holstein, and to the duchy of Sleswic, where he found some difficulty in being acknowledged as their prince, as he had refused to sign the capitulation to which his father had agreed; however, after he had confirmed the privileges of the city of Hamburgh, and re-called and pardoned, even without any solicitation, all those whom his father had banished for being guilty of great crimes, the nobility and clergy, charmed with his moderation and good-nature, immediately received him as
6 their

their prince: whereupon he convoked an extraordinary diet at Hensburgh, composed of all the nobility and the deputies of the towns, and represented to them that as many of the towns, strong places, and other lands of the prince had been mortgaged in his father's time, and had been the occasion of great disorders, he proposed to redeem them; and for this purpose he demanded an extraordinary subsidy, to which the diet, seeing the necessity of the thing, readily consented; and thereupon laid a tax of two florins upon the proprietor of every plough-land, that is, about four acres; a very heavy tax in those days, and which is held as the mode of taxing the landed property in those provinces even at this day.

Soon after this, in the year 1490, John concluded a treaty of commerce with Henry the Seventh of England, whereby the inhabitants of the two nations acquired the entire liberty of conducting any kind of commerce in the respective states of England and Denmark, on paying the common duties upon the merchandizes which they sold. The English, who carried on a commerce in the Baltic sea, engaged themselves likewise to pay the duties of the Sound, and that their ships should always sail through this passage, and not through either of the Belts, except they were forced by a tempest, of which the captain and two seamen were to make oath; and then they were to pay at Nybourg the same duties that they should have paid in the Sound. The English merchants were likewise permitted to have consuls in all the towns of Denmark or Norway, where their commerce obliged them to reside, to judge of and regulate their commercial affairs, and to decide all such differences as might arise among themselves; with many other articles very favourable to the English.

John

John kept his subjects in a state of tranquillity, as it might then be called, till the year 1499, and then took a journey into Sweden to have his queen Christiana crowned at Upsal; and to have the election of the prince Christian his eldest son, who had some time before been acknowledged as his successor by the senate, confirmed by the states, for which purpose he convoked an assembly of the states; and their answer to his proposition was very remarkable, and delivered to him in an authentic act, nearly in the followings words: “The states having very maturely
“ weighed and considered all the evils, the ravages and losses
“ that Sweden suffered when she was separated from Denmark,
“ and on the other hand, all the advantages which arose
“ from the union of the three kingdoms, are desirous of per-
“ petuating these advantages, and making their kingdom more
“ powerful, not only against the Russians, but also against all
“ other foreign enemies; and therefore they freely give their
“ consent, in concert with the king, that the duke Christian, his
“ eldest son, who has been already designed as his successor in
“ Denmark and in Norway, shall also succeed him in Sweden:
“ for, according to the ancient law of Sweden, if the king has
“ only one son, it is that son which shall be called to the
“ election:” they moreover promised, upon the word and faith
of Christians, to observe faithfully these articles; and engaged themselves for all the inhabitants of this kingdom, present or absent, existing or who might exist.

It will be seen from the words of this act, that the states deprived themselves in the most explicit and formal manner of the right of electing any other prince, after the death of John, but his son prince Christian; but how far their words or oaths were to be depended upon will hereafter appear.

Before

Before the end of this year the Swedes renewed their old custom; and as they constantly kept up a correspondence with the discontented party in Norway, the year following they were in open rebellion, and two formidable armies were raised to oppose the king's authority in Denmark and in Norway.

Amazed at this daring act of disobedience, John immediately sent an army into Norway to oppose the rebels, commanded by his son Christian, now in the 20th year of his age, and soon reduced that kingdom again to his obedience: afterwards Christian marched into Sweden, and likewise dispersed the rebel army in that kingdom; but this prince treated great numbers of those unhappy people with such severity that all mankind, even those of his own party, were shocked at it; and the Swedes, so far from being intimidated by such acts of violence, were the more exasperated, threw off all obedience to John, and elected an administrator to govern their kingdom; who continued to defend his country against the Danes, and in open war with John, till the death of the latter in the year 1513.

This prince was invited, some months before his death, to enter into a league with James the Fourth king of Scotland, and Lewis the Twelfth king of France, against Henry the Eighth king of England; but the answer of this prudent prince to the king of Scotland, who made the proposal, will throw some light upon his real character, which the Danish and Swedish historians have vilely misrepresented. As James demanded some speedy succours, and proposed to attack England immediately, John desired that he would consider that he had only a small part of his senate with him; and that he could not take a resolution of that consequence without the consent of this body, nor assemble
them

them together soon enough for the succours demanded to arrive in a proper time: moreover he observed, that the king of France was engaged in the same war with the English, and allied with Denmark as well as the king of Scotland, but he had not demanded any succours, nor sent him any all the time that he was at war; that he was in alliance with the king of England, as well as with his enemies; and that he thought it would be more for the interest of James to desist from his enterprise and to live in peace with the king of England, his neighbour and brother-in-law: however, if the English should unjustly attack him in his own kingdom, he promised to send him some sudden and efficacious succours.

All the actions of this prince shew him to have been prudent and sagacious, and a lover of peace and justice.

The very contrast of which was his son Christian, afterwards Christian the Second, who was born in the year 1481, soon after the death of his grandfather; and as this prince was one of the most vicious and abandoned characters that perhaps ever disgraced humanity, it will be necessary, before I enter upon the changes and revolutions which he made in the northern governments, to give some account of his education, and to shew how much the welfare and happiness of a people depend upon the education and sentiments of him who is appointed to govern them. All the Danish historians agree that the education of Christian the Second was very defective, and not at all calculated for a person who was to govern a great people. In his infancy he was boarded with a citizen of Copenhagen; and afterwards with a clergyman of that city, who was at the same time his preceptor, and who very often led him into the great church to sing in the

choir with him and several other young men of very low condition, who were boarded along with him: however, at length they gave him a preceptor from Brandenburg, under whose direction he applied himself to learn Latin; an admirable education for a person who was calculated to regulate the interests of a great empire! Certain it is, that the impressions which a prince has received in his youth become every day more and more engraven in his mind. Naturally violent, and led to carry things to extremity, Christian, in all probability, would have surpassed those who were placed about him for examples, if they had taken care to have him surrounded by worthy and good men; but on the contrary, by a conduct no less inexcusable than negligent, in his most early age they suffered him to form connexions with the most vile and profligate persons, whose manners were equally base with their extraction, whose taste and sentiments he adopted while they associated with him in his pleasures. His nocturnal riots, excesses, and diversions, were for some time the discourse of the town, before they came to the king's ears, who immediately chastized him very severely; but alas! his character was now formed; and consequently what restraint would such a chastisement lay upon a man who was upon the eve of seeing himself the governor of a great empire, and above all kind of law? at least such were then his ideas of government.

When he arrived at the age of nineteen, he threw off the mask entirely; till then he had been obliged to follow a course of such studies as were thought to be necessary for a prince; but Christian had for some time before conceived such a distaste for all kinds of study, as young libertines of this stamp generally conceive. It is certain that there is a method to make study agreeable to all sorts of men, since there is no person who has
not

not the seeds of curiosity within him, and who is not actuated by a certain point of honour; but it demands no small share of dexterity to make the most of these happy dispositions: such a zeal is rarely to be found among the generality of masters, who are badly seconded, or perhaps counteracted by bad governors, and often by parents, and seldom excited by honours and recompences.

War appeared to be more agreeable to the genius of Christian than the study of Latin: the revolt of Sweden and of Norway furnished him a theatre on which he could exercise his talents; but when a want of sentiment, and of almost every good quality which should enter into the composition of a man of honour, is joined with a brutal ferocity, this wretched odd mixture may be justly said to form the character by which Christian the Second was distinguished. His principal counsellors were his mistresses and his drunken companions; persons no less despisable by their birth than by their sentiments.

Soon after the death of John, the senators of Denmark and of Norway met at Copenhagen to put Christian in possession of the crown, which had been promised him during the life of his father; and at the same time to regulate the articles of capitulation, which appeared to be a matter of great difficulty, notwithstanding he had already been designed to be the successor to his father by the most solemn acts: but the senators and the principal nobility had already discovered such a mixture of severity, ambition, and jealousy of his authority in his character, as made them very apprehensive for the consequences; and which were very disagreeable to men who had always been accustomed to partake of this authority.

His tyrannical conduct, with regard to the Norwegians and to the Swedes, alarmed them very much, and made them think of seeking some remedy for the ills they feared; they offered the crown to duke Frederic of Sleswic Holstein, the brother of the late king, but the offer was rejected: however, as this bold step which the senate took, was kept a profound secret, no ill consequences resulted from it; and Christian was acknowledged and declared king of Denmark and Norway, after he had promised to confirm the liberties and privileges of the two kingdoms. He likewise engaged himself by this act to maintain the liberties and privileges of the Swedes when they should present him the crown, as the deputies of this nation were also in the assembly; but they excused themselves from concurring with Denmark and Norway, on account of their not having instructions, shewed a great regret that their nation had been so easily engaged, some years before, to choose prince Christian to be the successor to the present king; and soon afterwards declared openly against this prince, and elected an administrator to hold the reins of government.

As soon as Christian found himself seated on the throne of Denmark and Norway, the great object of his pursuit was to augment his power, both at home and abroad, to push the war with vigour against the Swedes, and in fact to humble that turbulent people in such a manner, that they should not be in a situation to give him any disturbance in future: he soon after married the sister of the emperor Charles the Fifth, and entered into alliance with that powerful sovereign to have a firm support in case any of his projects should miscarry; and if we may judge from the laws and ordinances which he published during the whole course of his reign, and by all the treaties which he
made

made with foreign powers, one of the principal objects of his policy was to extend the commerce of his kingdoms; not only as a means to augment his revenues from the customs upon all kinds of merchandizes imported and exported, but as an indirect method to diminish the power of the nobles, who were now become so many independent little sovereigns in the state; by introducing luxury among them; making them love the pleasures of the court; and, by their dissipation, to make them at length dependent upon him.

But that which the king considered more than all the rest was, the facility which this new branch of his revenues would give him to support a certain number of regular troops; an enterprize so proper in itself to augment the power, and flatter all the passions, of a monarch; and which had just now been attempted in Europe for the first time: never was any kind of novelty so well received in every court; but it was not long before it changed the face of Europe; and we cannot yet foresee all the changes which it may still produce, but by looking back upon what has passed, and considering what an infinity of little powers are absorbed in the great, and how the greatest part of the public authority is united in one point.

Flattered by being surrounded by guards, who were dependent upon him, Christian began to exercise his power with the greatest rigor, and even to use a severity which was not only contrary to the laws, but which had never before been seen in Denmark: he formed a project to remove all the obstacles which could oppose the exercise of an absolute authority; and to bring about this great change with that violence and promptitude which was so agreeable to his natural disposition.

The astonishment which these measures spread among the senators, clergy, and the principal nobility, produced no other effect for some time than a general silence, which the king supposed to arise from a patient submission to his government; and therefore, encouraged by this deceitful appearance, he began to advance with more boldness in the execution of the plan which he had projected. He established several taxes and customs in many places, which were unknown before, and that not only without the consent of the senate, but in direct opposition to the capitulations of all the kings of Denmark his predecessors, and even to those which he had signed himself; and fearing that the people should begin to murmur at these illegal impositions, and to strike them with terror, he ordered a gallows to be erected in the most public place in every town, to shew the people what they were to expect if they disobeyed his orders. Many churches, and several of the principal clergy, were deprived of a great part of their revenues: but what contributed more than any thing else to change the ancient form of government, and to humble the nobility, was, his carrying all his schemes into execution without the concurrence of the senate; and constituting a Dutch woman, of mean extraction, called Sigebret, and one of her friends, who had been a barber in Westphalia, his principal counsellors; and granting no favours but through their recommendation.

The common people, who had long since been the slaves of the nobility and clergy, enjoyed a secret consolation at seeing these two tyrannical orders humbled in their turn; not being admitted, but by the greatest submission, to demand those favours for themselves, which they before distributed to others.

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The Danish historians load Christian with infamy on account of this part of his conduct; but when we consider the situation which the kings of Denmark were in at this time, it will be seen that he was not so blameable, in this particular, as he has been represented. The greatest part of the lands and prerogatives of the crown, by the weakness of some former kings, were fallen into the hands of nobility and clergy, who made use of the latter to oppress and make slaves of the common people; and their kings had scarcely enough of the former to support their household. When they were threatened with a war, they were obliged to mortgage some part of the crown lands for the defence of the country: they were forbidden by the laws to raise any money by taxes without the consent of the states; but as two orders of the states, and the senate, were composed of the nobility and clergy, who were the best qualified to pay such taxes, either they refused to grant the king such supplies as were necessary, or by their great prerogatives and credit they threw the burden of them upon the poor people, who were thereby impoverished, without bringing any riches into the king's coffers. Christian, who was going to be engaged in a war with Sweden, found himself in this disagreeable situation; and the violence of his temper and his bad counsels made him pursue the illegal and extraordinary measures before-mentioned. However, if Christian was severe, and even tyrannical, towards the nobility and clergy, he was just the contrary towards the merchants and traders, who even to this time were obliged to send all their merchandizes to the Hanse towns at a very great expence, and to suffer the magistrates of these towns, who were for the most part merchants themselves, by their own authority, to put a price upon their goods, so that they were often obliged to sell them at a disadvantage; or
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if they did not think proper to do that, to leave them there till another year.

To prevent these vexations, and others of the like nature, Christian ordered all the inhabitants of Denmark, who exported any kinds of merchandizes, to bring them to Copenhagen, and made it a capital crime for any person who disobeyed this order. He promised likewise to place in the hands of the magistrates several hundred thousand florins, not only as a security for these merchandizes, but to enable the citizens to pay for them immediately, and to build magazines to preserve them: he moreover published several declarations to invite foreign merchants to come and settle in Copenhagen, and promised to grant them a particular protection, and the most extensive privileges; so that, to this time, mankind have formed very different judgments of the person and government of this prince; some regarding him as the father of his country, and others as a tyrant.

While things were conducting in this manner in Denmark, the affairs of Sweden were in the greatest confusion. The clergy, at the head of whom was the archbishop of Upsal, raised a rebellion against the government of the administrator whom they had just before elected; formed a party to depose him, and to elect Christian to be king of Sweden: such were the clergy in those days! The administrator defended himself for some time; but at length the Danes, assisted by a great party of the Swedes which the clergy had brought over to their interest, gained a complete victory; and Christian was received as the legal heir to the crown of Sweden, and was, some days after, crowned king at Stockholm, in the year 1520.

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To this time the conduct of Christian towards the Swedes had been, it is true, severe, but not particularly tyrannical: but now seeing himself triumphant, and every thing subjected to his will, he threw off all kind of restraint, and not only suffered his natural interest to give way to his fury, but acted a part worthy even a Nero or a Caligula. It had been always customary at the coronation of the kings of Sweden for the new monarch to make a certain number of knights: Christian, conformably to this custom, created a great many Danes, and other strangers, knights, but not one Swede; and fearing that they should mistake the motives of such a distinguished mark of disdain, he declared publicly that, for this time, he would not shew any mark of honour to a Swede, because he owed that crown to his arms, and not to their free will. Such an insult upon a brave and warlike people could certainly never pass unnoticed; however very little dissatisfaction was observed during the feasts and rejoicings which followed after the coronation; but the great expence into which these feasts and public amusements drew Christian, embarrassed him considerably. Before he was received as king of Sweden, he had taken an oath not to establish any new tax of what nature soever in Sweden, without the consent of the senators and the nobility; and after insulting them so publicly, he had very little hopes of obtaining their consent in an affair of this nature.

In this embarrassing situation, when the king should have consulted the most prudent and faithful of his counsellors, he admitted no person to his confidence but Sigebret, and her cousin, who had been a barber in Westphalia, and from his being a pimp to Christian, and ready to execute his orders on all occasions, was now become one of his principal ministers. These

wretches, seeing the king in this perplexity, told him that he had only one method in which to establish his authority in Sweden upon a solid foundation, and to destroy the roots of all kinds of rebellion; which was to cut off all the principal families in Sweden, among whom the discontented always found leaders who were animated by the spirit of faction and independence; that their conduct hitherto authorized him to sacrifice them to his vengeance; and that the security of his conquests, his repose, and even that of Sweden, absolutely demanded such an act of rigour: they moreover added that the Swedes, when they were deprived of their chiefs, and awed by such an example of severity, would pay, without murmuring, all the taxes which he thought proper to lay upon them.

Christian, who was violent and impetuous by nature, thinking he had discovered the only expedient which remained to accomplish his end, gave readily into this pernicious advice, and resolved to carry it into execution, before he had at all reflected upon the consequences which might arise from such a diabolical transaction.

To carry this scheme into execution, and at the same time to find some pretext to cover it, or at least to make it appear less horrible, became next a matter of consideration. The sentiments of the king's ministers were divided upon this last point: some of them proposed clandestinely to raise a tumult, by the means of which they might cut off all those who were marked out; others, considering the uncertainty of this plan, were for accusing the senators of Sweden of having formed a design to blow up the citadel of Stockholm with gunpowder; but this method, without being totally rejected, was not thought to be adequate

adequate to the purpose. At length one of the counsellors proposed a plan, which immediately received the approbation of the king, and of all his council.

I should have observed before, that when the archbishop of Upsal had raised a rebellion against the government, and refused to take the oaths of fidelity to the administrator, the senate and states of Sweden sentenced him to be divested of his archbishopric, and to be treated as a rebel and as a traitor to his country: but the archbishop, through the interest of Christian, procured a bull from the pope, not only to excommunicate the senate, states, and the whole kingdom of Sweden, but to treat them as heretics and rebels against the Roman pagod. This bull, especially the latter part of it, had never been used; and was now thought to be the most plausible plan, at least to give a colour to this enormity. “We should not forget,” said this counsellor, “that the
“ king is armed with the spiritual as well as with the temporal
“ sword; the pope has entrusted the former to him to vindicate
“ his religion; and we should now distinguish the prince from
“ the executors of this sacred vengeance, as king he may pardon
“ the Swedes, and he is obliged to fulfill all the promises which
“ he has made them; but it does not depend upon him to give
“ them up that which they owe to God and to the pope. The
“ bull of excommunication must have its effect; and the king,
“ to whom the execution of it is entrusted, is bound to pursue,
“ as heretics, all those whom he might have spared, if they had
“ been only rebels, and had repented of their crimes.”

This scheme appeared to be so well devised that the king immediately communicated it to the archbishop of Upsal, who, from an ardent desire to be revenged of all who opposed his

designs, fell readily into the measure; and the very next day, while an extraordinary senate was convoked, at which the king assisted, an ecclesiastic of Upsal came in before the assembly, accused the senate and states of Sweden of heresy, and of having ill treated the archbishop, and several of the bishops; demanded satisfaction for all the damages which they had sustained, and that the accused should be taken into custody till the king had pronounced sentence upon them; and concluded that this prince could not fail of receiving a recompence from God, for having punished those heretics, and of being universally esteemed by all the Christian world: this speech was seconded by some other bishops who were present; whereupon the matter was referred, for form's sake, to the commissaries who had been appointed to carry the pope's bull into execution, and the very next day, being assembled in the castle, they gave sentence against the accused, as being guilty of manifest and obstinate heresy, as they had incurred all the penalties pronounced by the sentence of excommunication, in conformity to the pope's bull.

Christian had no sooner received this sentence than he ordered all the senators, both ecclesiastic and laic, and all who were secured in the castle, to be beheaded; so that ninety-four persons of the first distinction in Sweden were immediately destroyed: but the king was very much chagrined when he was informed that several of those whom he had marked out, as the victims of his vengeance, could not be found, and that they were supposed to be secreted in the town. Fearing lest they should escape, he gave orders that the soldiers should massacre, without distinction, all the people of fashion whom they met in the streets, and afterwards do the same in all the best houses in the town, under pretence of searching after those who were condemned; so that

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in two or three hours all the streets flowed with blood : the same sentence was executed likewise in the provinces, upon all who were even supposed to be of the party of the late administrator. But what made this scene appear the more horrible, was the order which the king published, that none of the dead bodies should be buried ; but afterwards fearing that the view of so many mangled bodies of their fellow citizens would drive the Swedes to despair and to revolt, he ordered them to be carried out of the town, and burnt to ashes.

All mankind were highly offended and shocked when they heard of this tragical scene, except the then pope and his adherents, who not only applauded the act, but appointed the barber of Westphalia before-mentioned, who advised it, to be a bishop in Sweden, in the room of one of those who had been massacred.

Christian flattering himself that he had established his authority upon a firm foundation by the massacre of all the principal nobility, changed the form of government as he thought proper, published a severe edict, which prohibited any of the common people to have arms in their houses, loaded them with new taxes, and threatened to cut off one of their feet if they even attempted to revolt. After this prince had appointed a viceroy and council in Sweden, for the government of that kingdom during his absence, he returned to Copenhagen, where he began to exercise his authority in the most arbitrary manner, without any respect to the laws and privileges of the country ; so that he was universally hated and feared by all orders of people. In Sweden, the viceroy and council, and even the governors of towns and provinces, took this opportunity, after the example of their master,

to cut off all those gentlemen in their respective towns and provinces, who were supposed to be rich, that they might seize upon their estates; nothing was heard in the whole kingdom, from the palace to the cottage, but acts of oppression and tyranny. While the Swedes were groaning under this heavy yoke, Gustavus Vasa, the son of a senator of this kingdom, raised a revolt first in Dalecarlia, and afterwards in all the northern provinces, attacked and defeated the troops of the viceroy; forced him to quit the kingdom; and before any succours could be sent to the Danes, who were living in idleness, and enriching themselves by plundering the people, or indeed before they could join to assist each other, the revolt was become general.

The news of this defection gave Christian a great deal of inquietude, not only as it counteracted the designs which he had upon Holstein and Lubeck, for the entire conquest of which he was now soliciting a supply of troops from his brother-in-law the emperor Charles the Fifth, but because he saw that he was not in a situation to leave the kingdom of Denmark, nor even to part with the troops which were there; as the inhabitants of this kingdom were extremely discontented with his government; and, when a proper opportunity offered, were as ripe for a revolt as those of Sweden. Since the massacre of Stockholm Christian was become more brutal than he had ever been before; he kept no measures now with his subjects, seized upon their fortunes, put them to death, where there was only the suspicion of a crime, and trampled under foot the liberties and privileges of the nobility and clergy, the latter of whom he particularly offended by the praises which he publicly bestowed upon Luther, who was now highly condemning the riches and temporal power of the clergy in general. Christian likewise pretended that Frederic duke
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of Holstein, his uncle, should not hold his part of this duchy as a fief of the crown of Denmark; and as the emperor Charles the Fifth had insisted that the duke should do homage to the king, and receive the investiture of his lands from his hands, the king invited him to hold a conference with him at Colding, where they might settle their affairs amicably; to which the duke consented: but as the king foresaw that he should have some difficulty to make his uncle consent to the proposals which he intended to make him, he resolved to take such measures for obtaining his ends as might strike terror into him and all his followers.

Frederic had no sooner arrived at Colding, than the king ordered, the first night, a gallows to be erected before the door of every house where his lords and gentlemen lodged; but this shameful experiment had not the effect which was wished; for the Holsteiners were thereby more irritated than intimidated; and the duke not only refused to comply with the king's demands, but soon after, under pretence of consulting with his nobility, broke off the conference and escaped out of his hands: however, some time afterwards they had a second conference, in which their differences were settled.

During the course of this negotiation, Christian had given great cause to the duke, and all the nobility of Holstein, to hate him; and though he saw all his neighbours uniting themselves against him, and his allies, diverted by other objects, abandoning him, yet such was the ferocity of his disposition, that all these reasons were not sufficient to make him take proper measures to regain the affections of his subjects, which would have been as a shield against all the darts that were now levelled.

levelled at him. The nobility of Denmark were now become very powerfull, and it is true, treated their farmers with great cruelty and oppression; but whether from the love of justice, or from the desire of humbling this nobility, I shall not pretend to determine, in the course of this year 1521, the king published a new code of laws which greatly limited their power. It was very ill received, not only because it was composed and published without the approbation and consent of the senate, but because it tended to limit the power of the nobility over their vassals, and to retrench certain branches of their revenues; which was undoubtedly attacking them in two very sensible points, their pride and their interest. Among other things contained in this code, he absolutely forbids the practice, even then in use, of selling their vassals as slaves, the one to the other; which he condemns in nearly the following words: “ The wicked and impious practice which is used in Zealand, Falster, Laland, and other parts of Denmark of selling the poor farmers, and of making a traffic of Christians, shall be abolished for ever. And when the proprietors of the lands shall use their vassals with injustice, the latter shall be permitted to leave the lands of the former, and to settle themselves in other lands, as the established custom is among the farmers of Scania, Jutland, and Fioni.”

Nothing does more clearly prove the usurped authority, and the wickedness of the nobility and clergy of Denmark in those days, than the law before-mentioned; but that the author of the massacre of Stockholm should assert the natural rights of his poor and oppressed subjects, and publish a law so full of humanity and justice, is what has much surprized mankind.

Christian

Christian likewise published, in the same year, a code of ecclesiastical laws, which were equally calculated to limit the power of the ecclesiastics, and for the good of the people; among which we find the following: “ That no ecclesiastic, of what rank or
 “ quality soever, shall be permitted to acquire any lands; and
 “ those among them who are disposed to give any legacies to
 “ the churches, or to the convents, shall give such legacies in
 “ money and not in lands: and all those ecclesiastics, who have
 “ the cure of souls, shall be obliged to residence: a bishop shall
 “ not have more than fourteen persons in his train when he is
 “ upon a journey; and an archbishop shall not exceed the number of twenty.”

Before this time it was common to see these prelates followed by 100 knights and other servants, who oppressed and ill-treated the poor people in every place through which they passed. Other laws of the same code tended likewise to suppress the pomp and shew upon which these prelates not a little valued themselves.

All these regulations, and others of the same nature, though of less importance, which we find in these codes, could not but have merited the approbation of all good men; but then on the other hand, it must be confessed that there are, in the same codes, others which cannot be supported. He thereby established, for instance, a new sovereign court of justice, composed of some doctors of laws, secretaries, and public notaries, who were to accompany him wherever he went, and to whom he entrusted the great seal of the kingdom; and no person or case was exempted from the jurisdiction of this court. This was annihilating one of the principal prerogatives of the senate; as the right of judging finally, in all cases, had formerly been in this body alone:

moreover this was reducing the authority of the chancellor to little more than a title. Christian had likewise introduced into the cities and towns, in his territories, several of the laws and customs which were before used in the Low Country provinces. By the former of these codes of laws, he had established in every town a magistrate, who was properly to represent him as his lieutenant, and who was called Schult or Scout: he received from the king a white wand, as the mark of his authority, which was superior to that of the burgo-masters. When the king passed through any town, the scout, the burgo-masters, and the senators were to walk before him; and whenever they spoke to him it was to be kneeling; and in this posture the scout was to present his wand to the king, and not to rise till his majesty had restored it to him again.

All these changes, with many others of less consequence, which were made at the same time, were highly disagreeable to the Danes, especially to the nobility and clergy; but what exasperated them the most, was a law which Christian published, to forbid the robbing and plundering of ships which had been wrecked upon their coasts, from which several of the bishops, and of the principal nobility, made a considerable revenue, by trampling upon the sacred laws of religion and of humanity.

Christian, with all his barbarity, would not suffer this abuse, but condemned it formally by a law, which, it is said, regulated with much wisdom and equity the manner in which the inhabitants of the coasts should conduct themselves when any ship was wrecked in their neighbourhood. Very far from hindering the ship's crew from saving what they could of their cargo, and laying the goods which they had saved in a place of safety, which
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had been the practice heretofore, it was expressly ordered by this law, that all the king's officers should assist the seamen, as much as possible, to save the ship and cargo; and if they refused such assistance, they were liable to be hanged, and all their goods confiscated. The effects which were saved from the wreck were to be carried to the nearest church; and no person was permitted to save any thing of the effects, except he was asked to do it. If the owner of the ship was forced by necessity to sell any part of his cargo, in order to pay those men who were employed to save it, the king's officer was obliged to render to him faithfully all the money that arose from such sale; and, if he did him any injustice, he was liable to suffer death as before-mentioned. If all the seamen were drowned, the countrymen were obliged to keep the effects which were saved from the wreck a year and a day, till the owner came to reclaim them, when they were ordered to deliver them up, upon his paying the expence of salvage. But if the goods were not re-claimed within that time, they were to be divided, and two-thirds were to be the property of the king, and the other third the property of the curate of the neighbouring parish. The other articles of this law were for regulating the salary of all who were employed in saving such effects, which was very reasonable.

But the more this law breathed justice and equity, the more it offended the bishops and the nobility: the bishops of Borglum in Jutland had often 300 men employed upon the sea coasts, when there was any appearance of a tempest which might drive ships ashore, to oblige the seamen to suffer their goods to be plundered without making any resistance.

When this law was published, the bishops of Borghlum, Vibourg, and the archbishop of Lunden, complained loudly of such an innovation: those pious prelates had before been accustomed to seize upon all the ships and cargoes which the tempest had thrown upon their coasts, and even to massacre those seamen who made any resistance to the pillaging and plundering of their effects: by these means they had amassed great riches, and a considerable revenue redounded to the king's coffers; as from the unskilfulness of the seamen in those ages accidents of this kind happened almost every day. Herman Grice, one of the senators, having represented to the king the wrong which he did himself by his law, as he would lose thereby a considerable revenue from Jutland alone, besides what he would lose in the other provinces: but to the amazement of all mankind, Christian returned him the following answer, "I would rather
 " lose all the revenues of which you speak, than suffer those
 " unhappy people to be so unjustly treated." One of the bishops likewise complained to the king of the wrong which he had done him in particular by this law; and demanded permission to follow the ancient customs of the country with respect to this matter. To which Christian answered, "That his intention,
 " was not to make any change in those customs, except in such
 " as he found to be contrary to the divine laws:" whereupon this conscientious prelate replied, by asking, "How the ancient
 " customs of the kingdom, respecting shipwrecks, were con-
 " trary to the divine laws?" To which the king again replied,
 "Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal."

In this manner did Christian render himself odious to his subjects, by doing such acts as one might have supposed would have gained him great credit, and atoned, in some measure, for his
 past

past barbarity. It is true, the order of citizens, and that of the farmers, in many provinces, thought very different of Christian's behaviour from what the nobility and clergy had done; though he had laid some very heavy taxes upon them, and though they had suffered much from the cessation of commerce. However, the bishops and the senators of Jutland, who had a great influence upon the people, at length persuaded them to revolt; and towards the end of the year 1522, after having several secret meetings for that purpose, they agreed upon a formal act, whereby they renounced the oath of fidelity which they had taken to the king, declared him to have forfeited all his rights by the insupportable abuse which he had made of them, and offered the crown to duke Frederic, his uncle, who was of the royal blood, and who, as they observed, had conducted himself before God and men as a Christian prince ought to do.

This act was composed nearly in the following words: "That
" the king had deprived the church of many of her privileges
" and revenues; that he had oppressed and persecuted the bishops,
" and left the churches without pastors; that he had corrupted religion, and favoured the heresy of Luther, which
" had drawn the wrath of God upon his three kingdoms; as
" nothing was at present to be seen therein but contagious diseases,
" poverty, war, and tyranny; that he had put several of the
" nobles to death without any form of justice, and even without permitting them to have confessors; that he had employed
" tyrants, profligates, and magicians in the government; that
" he had raised several taxes upon the nobility, contrary to the
" privileges which they had always enjoyed; that he had introduced into the kingdom a number of new regulations against
" the advice of the senate, and against the laws and customs of
" the

“ the state, which tended to the oppression and ruin of all orders of
“ men;” and they concluded with declaring, “ that their honour,
“ as well as what they owed to God and men, would not permit
“ them to suffer any longer the ruin of their country; and there-
“ fore they engaged themselves, in the name of the Holy
“ Trinity, and upon their honour, their lives, and their fortunes,
“ to oppose and prevent the ruin of their country, so long as
“ there remained one man living in the three kingdoms.”

While the clergy and nobility were tyrannizing over, and even massacring those poor unhappy people who fell under their hands, every thing was done in a religious mode; but, as soon as their usurped privileges were touched, and their infamous practices corrected, the wrath of God was drawn down upon the three kingdoms: undoubtedly there must have been a blessed system of religion in Denmark in those days.

This act was immediately communicated to duke Frederic, with an offer of the crown; which was accepted; and great preparations were making in secret to effect this revolution; though the marshal of the kingdom, with several of the nobility, constantly refused to take any part in this perilous enterprize; very prudently observing, that supposing such a change could be brought about, the disorders that would necessarily arise from it would be much greater than those of which they complained: but the bishops were deaf to all kind of reasoning.

Christian, as it is supposed, having some intimation of what was now meditated against him, convoked the nobility of Jutland to Calundburgh in Zealand, under pretence of taking their advice respecting the pretensions of the duke his uncle, who demanded the half of the kingdom of Norway; and concerning

the war which he had to support against the inhabitants of Lubeck, and against Sweden: moreover he wanted to raise a large sum of money for supporting the expences of this war. The nobles, surprized at this demand, excused themselves from coming to the place appointed, on account of the wind being contrary, and of the inclemency of the season. Christian, extremely irritated at this act of disobedience, and resolving that they should have no excuse of this nature in future, went himself into Jutland on the 25th of January 1523, with the intention, as it is said, to hold a diet at Arhuus. Upon which the conspirators were obliged to declare themselves openly, and sent the king a copy of the act before-mentioned; to which they added, that as Christian had broken the articles of his capitulation, which he had sworn to observe, they were authorized by the express words of this act, which are as follows, to depose him: “If we do
“ any thing against the tenor of these articles, and will not suffer
“ ourselves to be better informed by the senate of our kingdom,
“ of which God forbid, all the inhabitants of our said kingdom
“ shall be obliged, by the duty and allegiance which they owe
“ to us, to concur faithfully that all which we have so done
“ may immediately be redressed: and every thing which they
“ shall do with this view shall not be imputed to them as if
“ they had been wanting in their duty, their honour, or their
“ oath of fidelity.”

There can be no doubt but that the nobles were authorized by the words of this contract to associate themselves for the redressing their grievances; but they could not claim any just power from hence to depose Christian. Nothing could equal the king's surprize when he received this message: however he dissimuled his resentment, and sent a deputation of some senators
and

and other gentlemen to represent to them, that they had behaved with too much rigour towards him; that they had condemned him, without having proved any thing against him, and even without hearing him; that they ought to have deliberated more maturely upon what they had done; that on his part he was ready to leave the decision of their affairs to the emperor, or to any other impartial judge, to redress all their grievances, and even to give them any thing which they should demand, as a security for his fulfilling all which he had promised. These representations made some impression upon the senators of Jutland, who consented to suspend all their operations for some time, and to have a conference with the king's deputies: but the worthy bishops, and some others of their party, would not hear of any terms of accommodation; and, after having armed all their vassals and friends, and prepared themselves for a war, sent the king the following answer: "That the states of Denmark would not
" acknowledge any superior judge; that they had already judged
" the king upon his own engagements, as they were expressed
" in his capitulation; that they could not in any manner confide
" in his promises; that they had already made choice of another
" king, whom they daily expected among them; and that
" moreover his bad actions were so well known to all the world,
" that they had no occasion of any other information to form a
" judgment that he had lost all the rights of his crown." Christian, seeing that nothing was to be done by negotiating with these determined ecclesiastics, immediately returned into Fionia, assembled the states of that province, and made them renew their oath of fidelity. The farmers of Zealand likewise, to whom this prince had granted some particular privileges, and made them independent of those little tyrants their lords, shewed themselves very much disposed to assist him. However Christian
returned

returned to Copenhagen, and employed every method to fortify this town, as well as Malmo in Scania, with every thing necessary to make a long defence; supposing that as long as he was master of these two important places, which were as the doors whereby he could always introduce foreign succours, he should never have really lost his kingdom. The bishop and the inhabitants of Jutland, on their side, took the most efficacious measures to support what they had begun: they sent letters into all other provinces, in which they strongly solicited the inhabitants to imitate their example, and to throw off the yoke; they even added menaces to their solicitations, and declared that they were determined to punish as traitors and rebels those who should take up arms for the king. But, at the moment when a most cruel civil war was expected to break out in every part, Christian abandoned, in a great measure, his own cause; and though he was likewise master of the seas, he quitted Denmark precipitately, carried off all his best effects with him, and retired with his family into the Low Countries. If Christian had acted with activity, firmness, and courage, as he had a fleet at his command, together with a great body of foreign troops, which he kept constantly in pay, and several of the provinces of Denmark, he might soon have reduced the rebels to reason, and his uncle also; but from this moment his affairs took a contrary turn. The conduct of Christian, particularly towards the Swedes, will always be condemned and branded with infamy; but, with all this, I cannot think that his character was so thoroughly wicked as were those of the bishops and senators of his time; who were not only guilty of the greatest acts of oppression and injustice to their farmers, selling them as so many beasts upon their lands, and putting them to death, without any form of justice, for the most trifling offences; and all this by an usurped prerogative, to

which they had no just or legal title; but they robbed, and even massacred without any pity, all those poor unhappy creatures who were forced upon their coasts by the violence of the elements; and when the king, tyrant as he was, made a law to prevent such infamous practices, they immediately cried out that their religion was in danger, would have plunged their country into a scene of horror and bloodshed, and buried themselves under her ruins: happy country where no such religious tyrants exist!

As soon as Frederic received advice that Christian had abdicated Denmark, he immediately entered Jutland, where he was proclaimed king; and where, in this quality, he received the homage and oaths of fidelity of all the orders of the state; but he paid very dear for the favours which they bestowed upon him; the nobility and clergy gained more by the capitulation which they made with Frederic, than they had been able to gain since the beginning of their monarchy. Heretofore the nobility and dignified clergy could only obtain the supposed right of judging their farmers for small offences; which, by their own authority, they had extended to the right of life and death; so that these poor wretches were often cut off for the most trifling faults, and sometimes for no fault at all: but now, by one of the articles of the capitulation of Frederic, the nobles obtained, formally, not only the right of life and death over their farmers, but also that of condemning them to lose all their goods whenever their tyrants supposed that they had done wrong; a power which the king had no right to give, nor the nobles to receive; as the farmers, from the beginning of the Danish monarchy, were an order of the states, as they are in Sweden to this day, and were
equally

equally entitled to the natural rights of mankind with the nobles, and with the other orders.

This regulation was very disagreeable to the bishops and the principal nobility, but was no less condemned by all the other orders of the state. I cannot give a clearer idea of what the people thought of this revolution, than by inserting a letter written soon after this time by a Danish ecclesiastic to his friend, which was preserved and afterwards published by bishop Pontopidon: "I have severely repented," says this writer, "of having concurred in the last revolution, as the new form of government has not been established as I could have wished: it was in vain that we flattered ourselves with having remedied the evils of the state, and of having enjoyed the fruits of a happy change. They complain more openly of the ill conduct of the bishops, and of the principal nobility, at present, than ever they complained of that of Christian the Second; and it is the general opinion, that this prince was driven out of the kingdom with no other view than to advance the particular interests of the great lords and bishops, and not with the intention of promoting the good of the state; and it were to be wished, that those great men had moderated a little the rights which they had over their farmers, if they may be called rights, at least till a calm had been re-established; but by exercising with great rigour what they call their rights, though God knows without any reason, they have in such a manner blown up the fire, which was before but just lighted, that I fear the consequences will one day be fatal. In fact the people in general are of opinion, that they had better suffer patiently the tyranny of one person than to have so many ty-

“ rants at a time, whose insatiable avarice and pride are not to
“ be borne.”

Such are too often the sentiments of the people after those changes which they have the most desired: they are abused by those who pretended to support their liberties, and who only thought for themselves; and they are sacrificed to promote the grandeur and ingratitude of some illustrious villains: to change the name of their masters, and the nature of their grievances, is the general consequence of almost all these revolutions.

By this capitulation the king engaged himself likewise to repeal all the laws of Christian the Second, and the worthy bishops ordered, that the laws which this prince had made to restrain the irregularities of the clergy, and to prevent the robbing of ships which were thrown upon the coasts, and the massacring the seamen, should be burnt, as pernicious and contrary to good manners, and to the laudable customs of the country.

By consenting to every thing which the nobility and clergy proposed to him, and by confirming the privileges of the citizens of Copenhagen and Malmo, Frederic removed all the opposition which was made to his advancement to the throne in Denmark; and afterwards took every prudent measure to secure himself against any foreign invasion which might be attempted by Christian, or by any of his friends. Christian, on the other hand, raised a considerable force in the Low Countries, with the assistance of his brother-in-law the emperor, and invaded Norway; where he seemed at first to gain some footing, and the senate and states of Norway renewed their oaths of fidelity to him, granted him a considerable subsidy, and wrote to the states of Denmark

to do the same; but this prince, as if he was now to suffer for his former ill conduct, was first betrayed by one of those on whom he had bestowed the greatest favours; and afterwards, by the powerfull forces of the king of Sweden and of the landgrave of Hesse, joined to those of Frederic, he was forced to surrender, with the promise of having a safe-conduct or passport to return to the Low Countries; for which the Danish generals engaged themselves, before God, upon their faith and honour; but as soon as Christian was arrived at Copenhagen, those very generals accused him of having broken his word, as they saw that Frederic was not pleased with the conditions which they had granted him, and he was immediately carried to Sonderberg, in the isle of Alsen, where he was shut up in a dungeon, with only a dwarf to keep him company; the door of the dungeon was immediately walled up, and only one small window left open to illuminate the place, and, through which, to convey to him the meat which was ordered for his subsistence. It was in this deplorable situation that Christian, who had reigned over three kingdoms, and who was allied with all the great powers of Europe, spent six-and-twenty years, and was then only released to die in misery: it is said that he repented very sincerely of his past faults, and cried often for mercy to the king and senate of Denmark, and at the same time reproached them with having broken their word, and been the cause of all his misery; but these people only added insults to their want of humanity, and reproached him in turn with having broken the agreement which he had made with their generals: all his allies, and even his brother-in-law, when his fortune changed, turned their backs on him, and left him to reflect upon the justice of that great Being who governs all human affairs, and from whom he might
hope

hope for that mercy and forgiveness which had been denied him by his fellow creatures.

The bishops, senators, and several of the nobility, full of indignation against Christian, and of fear that he would be re-established again by some foreign power, forgot, till it was too late, that their new king inclined very much to favour the protestant religion, as it was then preached by Luther; and that this new religion might be fatal to the grandeur of the former, and greatly limit that of the latter: but to raise new troubles in the state, to oppose the operations of Frederic, or to irritate him, would be to recall their implacable enemy into the kingdom; and who would answer that this prince, though he entered into his kingdom a Roman Catholic, would not reign there as a protestant; and, after revenging himself upon all his enemies, make that reform which he had before projected, which would then be more easy to execute, as he would be invested with an absolute power? they therefore thought it would be more prudent to shut their eyes upon these little innovations which Frederic might be inclined to make at that time, supposing that they should be able to stop them entirely when the present disturbances were a little more forgotten. But Frederic, when he saw himself fixed upon the throne, not only protected, under hand, the Lutheran preachers, but when the states were assembled at Odensee in the year 1527, he addressed a discourse to the bishops in which he recommended to them to have the pure Gospel preached in their respective dioceses; and that they would reject all those fables and superstitions that ignorance and interest had mixed with the true religion: he informed them, that when he came to the throne he had promised them to defend the Catholic religion; but at the same time added, that this promise could not be explained

as if he had engaged himself to protect the horrid abuses which were made of that religion, to the scandal of all true Christians: that when he swore to support the prelates in their dignities and privileges, it was with the supposition that they, on their part, fulfilled all that they owed to the state: that the doctrine of Luther, which could not be called a heresy, as it was received in a great part of the Christian world, had made such a progress in his dominions, that it could not now be checked without persecuting his subjects, which he was determined should not be done; and therefore he was resolved to tolerate it till a council was held to regulate the differences. This discourse was seconded by all the other orders; and, though the bishops exclaimed loudly against it, liberty of conscience was established by a solemn decree. Moreover the king forbade the bishops to hold any correspondence with the pope; and it was so regulated, that the chapters had the sole right to elect their bishops, and the king the sole right to confirm such election.

Things went on in this manner, and the kingdom enjoyed a state of tranquillity, till the death of Frederic in the year 1533, when the face of affairs was immediately changed. Full of resentment against the late king, and fearing that a successor brought up in the same principles would easily finish their ruin, the bishops resolved, at any price, to prevent the eldest son of the late king, whose attachment to Lutheranism was well known, from coming to the throne; and to place the crown upon the head of prince John, the late king's second son, who was born in Copenhagen, and bred up in the principles of the Roman Catholic religion.

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As soon as the late king's death was notified in form to the senate, this body, on whom the government of the state devolved during the interregnum, convoked the deputies of the several orders of the states to assemble at Copenhagen for the election of a new king. The bishops opened the debates of this assembly by observing, that those who have great riches in their hands can never be without credit, nor without power: they obtained leave to enter first upon the examination of what regarded religion; and exclaimed with violence against the bold innovations, and even sacrileges, which were committed in the last reign, and against the ministers of the new religion: they pointed out the great injuries that were done to the ecclesiastics, particularly by the retrenching of their offerings and other branches of their revenue; and they concluded by exhorting the assembly to expiate all those criminal attempts, by arming themselves with zeal against the heretics, and by hastening to re-enter, with repentance, into the bosom of the church. The lay-senators appeared to be indifferent to the subject of these complaints; whereupon the bishops, irritated to the last degree, attacked the decree of the diet of Odensee before-mentioned, which had given such a fatal blow to their grandeur, and which had confirmed to the nobility the sovereign or rather tyrannical prerogatives specified in the king's capitulation over their farmers; prerogatives, said the bishops, equally prejudicial to the state and to the clergy, who alone had legally enjoyed till then those prerogatives, and of which they had been divested by this decree: they therefore immediately insisted that it should be annulled. No demand could be more disagreeable to the principal part of the nobility; but the violence of the clergy, and of their friends, made it necessary to temporize a little, and to gain them over by moderation: and therefore the nobility contented themselves with
desiring

desiring the prelates to wait till a king was elected, and then to submit the examination of this important affair to him: they recommended moderation and concord, and represented to them the dangers to which they exposed their country, if when threatened by a foreign enemy, she was thus divided by intestine dissensions. But all these remonstrances had no effect upon the clergy: they felt all the force of their present power and authority. To-day they were feared by a nation disunited, and without a chief; but to-morrow liable to be attacked by all the nation, and by its chief. The prelates, by redoubling their violence, at length intimidated the lay-senators, who thought it the most prudent, in their present situation, to cede something to the clergy, to preserve the free exercise of the Protestant religion till some new revolution in the state should give them a more favourable opportunity to carry their schemes into execution. Whereupon it was ordered, that the bishops should enjoy and exercise exclusively their right of conferring the sacred orders; that the tenths should be restored to the clergy, and that no protection should be granted to those who refused them; that they should be at liberty to receive such pious legacies as were freely and voluntarily left them; and, in fact, several other articles, no less favourable to the clergy, were added to this act. But, besides what was really agreed upon to favour the clergy and their interests, the bishops, who were ordered to arrange it in proper order, fraudulently inserted several new dispositions in their favour, and retrenched several clauses which were not altogether so favourable to them. The Protestant senators refused to seal this decree, and even protested against it, but it was to no purpose; it was published and received as a law in the whole kingdom. The affairs of religion having been regulated in this manner to the inclination of the clergy, they permitted

the election of a king to be entered upon, under such auspices as could not be more favourable to their party.

The senate, which since the union of Calmar had gone on to increase its credit and power, and which had continued to decide, almost alone, all the great interests of the nation, which had been before discussed by the other orders of the kingdom, without any great difficulty assumed the right of instructing the other orders in this important affair; which, in fact, amounted almost to the power of deciding of it. But this decision was not so easily made as it was first apprehended: the ecclesiastic and catholic senators had very different interests from those of the lay and protestant senators; and both the one and the other perceived that the choice which they were about to make was of the last importance to the cause which they supported.

The first therefore declared for prince John, the second son of the late king, who was born since his father was elected king; and by being educated in Denmark, according to the laws and customs of the Danes, and still of such an age that he might receive strongly in his heart the lessons of piety and virtue, much might be expected from him; whereas his elder brother Christian could only be regarded as the son of a duke, and as a stranger, who had from his childhood lived in a country whose manners and customs were very different from theirs; and been much in the courts of the princes of Germany, where he could not avoid adopting the luxury and corruption which reigned there. However these reasons were easily overturned by the chiefs of the other party, who observed, that the good of the state absolutely required immediately the election of a king who was in a situation to take the reins of government into his hands: is it, said they,

they, at the approach of a storm that the steerage of a ship is entrusted to a child? the valour and the prudence of prince Christian are known to all the world. But as both parties were before determined upon their respective choice, no kind of reasoning was of any effect, and the debates only served to irritate the one party against the other, and to prolong the election: fearing, however, that the citizens of Copenhagen should rise in favour of the other party, and turn this long contest to their disadvantage, the bishops proposed that the states of Norway, who were all Roman Catholics, should be invited to send their deputies to this assembly, which was about to elect them a king. To a proposition so reasonable the Protestant senators could not make any objection, except that by retarding the election (which must be for at least a year) their enemies would be the more encouraged to attack them, which might throw the state into the greatest danger. This proposition was however made a resolution of the senate; and moreover it was agreed that the throne should remain vacant till the unanimous choice of the senators should declare him who was to mount it; that the senators should have till then the management of all public affairs, and the right of administering justice; and that each senator should have the command of the troops in the province which should be assigned to him. In vain did the Protestant senators refuse to seal this act, and represented the fatal consequences which might attend it, as they were upon the eve of a war: the decree was afterwards published, and received as a law. The bishops, now regarding the election of prince John as inevitable, began to regulate his education, to persecute the Protestants, and, as having a majority in the senate, to publish edicts very disagreeable to the people, and to vex them with heavy taxes; whereupon the Protestant senators, seeing their remonstrances despised, retired

from the senate, and from Copenhagen, and were followed by great numbers of their friends; and soon afterwards the assembly of the states and of the senate being finished, the bishops also retired into their respective dioceses; and disregarding the laws, and having no fear of a superior, they pushed the persecutions against the Protestants to the last degree; whilst the latter turned their eyes towards the prince Christian, as their only deliverer and hope of support.

Whilst things were carried to this extremity in Denmark, through the obstinacy and ill-conduct of the bishops, the emperor, the king of England, and several relations and friends of the dethroned king, entered into an agreement to set Christian the Second at liberty, and to place him upon the throne. Their general, the count of Oldenburg, wrote to the duke Christian, in whose territories the castle of Sanderburg was situated, to give the king his liberty, as he would otherwise render account to God, and to men, of the ill treatment which he suffered there; and, upon the latter having refused so to do, the count immediately declared war, entered the territories of Holstein and Denmark, and obliged all the inhabitants to take a new oath of fidelity to their old master Christian the Second. He next attacked the island of Zealand and the town of Copenhagen; of which, from the divisions and animosities of the two parties, and from his promising to protect the Protestants, he very soon made himself master. Encouraged by this great success, the count sent circular letters to all the orders of the state, ordering them to send their deputies to Ringstedt; which the inhabitants of the cities and the farmers immediately complied with, and took a new oath of fidelity to Christian the Second, and returned freely under the laws of their ancient master, the rigour of which had always fallen upon those orders who were their tyrants, and whom they hated.

The nobility and clergy, on the contrary, foreseeing the intentions of the general, hid themselves because they would not contribute to replace him whom they called their tyrant upon the throne. The general, irritated by their conduct, resolved to revenge himself without pity upon them; and sent some detachments of his troops, followed by the enraged populace, whom they had most cruelly used, into their castles and their lands, which he delivered to their brutal fury. Terrified at this rigorous treatment, the nobility and clergy demanded quarter upon their knees, and took a new oath of fidelity to their enemy; who, though lying in a dungeon, again made all his enemies to tremble. The news of the submission of Zealand, and of several other provinces of Denmark, spread the greatest consternation among the senators, who were now assembled in Jutland: they feared very much for Malmo and for Scania, and sent deputies to the inhabitants of this town and province, recommending to them to be faithful to the senate; and, at the same time, making them hope, that the duke Christian would very soon be elected king, and that he would revenge and deliver the kingdom. But the citizens and farmers of this town and province, who had been tyrannically oppressed, were deaf to the intreaties of their oppressors; arrested their governors, destroyed the citadel which was built in the reign of Federic the First, against the tenor of their privileges, and secured all the other senators and nobility whom they found in the city.

The count of Oldenburg received with great pleasure the news of these movements in Scania, and wrote to the nobility of that province, that if they would come freely and take a new oath of fidelity to their legal king, whom he was determined to re-establish in his just rights, they would now find in him a
prince

prince just and full of clemency ; but if they refused or delayed doing this, their ruin would be inevitable. The nobility, fearing the count's resentment, submitted without hesitation ; and immediately he passed into Scania, assembled the states near Lunden, and when he had recommended Christian the Second to the assembly, he asked them if they would follow the example of the Zealanders, who re-elected him to be their king ; whereupon all the assembly answered by cries of joy and applause. The count felicitated them upon the re-establishment of order and union by their prompt submission ; and so far this general seemed to have well executed his plan for a general revolution : but now, at the most critical period, his politics failed him. Too eager to attach the common people to his interest, he shut his ears, and even his heart, against the many innocent and unfortunate people who were daily plundered and ruined. The populace, full of resentment against the nobility, and animated by the desire of plunder, and the assurance of impunity, did not spare the goods nor the persons of those who, it may be, with as little justice, made them tremble some time before : the soldiers likewise robbed and plundered with impunity : so that instead of order and discipline, which a good general would have maintained in a conquered country, in such a situation, the count suffered the most unwarrantable licence to reign in those provinces, which was afterwards the cause of his ruin : however this general, after leaving garrisons in Malmo and in Copenhagen, passed into Fioni, which very soon submitted to his arms, and received the laws he thought proper to give it.

While the count supposed that he was advancing by great strides towards the conquest of the kingdom, the senators assembled in Jutland, began at last to think of taking some vigorous measures
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to stop his progress : the spirit of party had blinded them till now to all the danger to which they were exposed ; and the bishops still refused to give their voices for the election of prince Christian, whom they regarded as a heretic, and insisted that his brother John, though a child, should be invested with the government of the state. This obstinacy gave rise to violent debates, and prolonged the election ; at length a multitude of persons of all ranks entered into the senate in a tumultuous manner, and being informed that the bishops had refused their consent to the election of prince Christian, they cried out immediately, that he ought to be elected to save the kingdom from destruction ; that they had hitherto had but too much regard to the caprice of the bishops, and sacrificed the half of the kingdom which they had lost in complaisance to them ; that they were resolved, at present, to save that part of the kingdom which remained in their power ; and that those who made any opposition to their just desires should pay dear for their obstinacy. Conscious of all the evils which their obstinacy had brought upon their country, fearing the effects of this threatening discourse, the bishops consented to the election of duke Christian, with the condition, however, that the privileges and rights of the senate and states should be confirmed by the new king, and that he should not be the enemy of their religion : whereupon Christian was immediately proclaimed king by the senate, and by the cries of joy and applause of all those who were present. Deputies were immediately dispatched to inform this prince of their resolution ; who soon after came into Jutland, where the states of this province and those of Fioni waited for him ; and upon his arrival proclaimed him king again, and took an oath of fidelity to him. The king, on his side, engaged to confirm the privileges of every order of the states upon the same footing that they

they were by the capitulation of Frederic the First; they agreed, however, that he might make, with the consent of the senate, such changes as should be judged necessary in the present situation of affairs, before new measures could be taken in a general diet: that the bishops and clergy should enjoy, in the most ample manner, their revenues and prerogatives, whether they remained Catholics, or whether they became Protestants; that the nobility should likewise preserve all their liberties and prerogatives; that every one should enjoy the free exercise of their religion: *and, in fact, that the poor farmers and commons were to be the only persons who were to be oppressed and tyrannically used.*

Never did a prince come to a throne in a more perilous situation than Christian the Third did to that of Denmark in the year 1534: the half of his subjects had revolted against him, and these supported by the Hanse-towns and several other foreign powers. To defend the half of his territories, and to recover the other half out of the hands of a victorious enemy; and moreover to support the laws in vigour, to maintain peace and concord between two factions full of animosity against each other, and to command his military operations, was a task which required no small share of skill and judgment. The count of Oldenburg had subdued Fioni, and, by a mistaken policy, as I have above observed, suffered all kinds of violence to be practised there with impunity; of which the nobility and clergy were the principal victims: there was no safety there but for those who submitted themselves freely to the laws of Christian the Second. The new king hearing of the distressed situation of the inhabitants of this province, hastened to their relief, defeated a part of the count of Oldenburg's army, and very soon reduced the whole province to his obedience. But no sooner had the king parted
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to prosecute the war in other parts, than another army, commanded by the count in person, and assisted by the whole body of the farmers, subdued again the whole province, and made them take a new oath of fidelity to Christian the Second. Afterwards the count sent a detached body of his army into Jutland, which beat a large party of the new king's troops; and, if the operations of this little army had been properly seconded, before the king could have raised a new army to oppose him there, the greatest part of this province would likewise have been subdued; for such were the effects of the menaces, and on the other hand the promises, which the count made to all the people, and of the powerful word liberty, which he knew how to mention in a proper manner to the common people, who had been tyrannically treated, that a general revolt was feared, and the kingdom would have been inevitably lost: but the new king sent a great body of troops to the assistance of his party, and the count, confiding too much in the valour of his detachment, neglected to reinforce them; and they were totally defeated. From this time the affairs of the new king, who was now assisted with a body of Swedish troops, and who commanded his own army in person, began to change for the better.

The troops of the count of Oldenburg were soon driven out of Jutland, and afterwards out of Fioni, by the new king's army; while the Swedes recovered Scania for him; so that the count was obliged to retire into Zealand with the remains of his army, and was the next year besieged in Copenhagen and taken prisoner: and thus, by the imprudence of this general, was the whole kingdom of Denmark reduced under the obedience of Christian the Third.

The count of Oldenburg, by suffering all kinds of violence to be practised with impunity, and by leaving his troops without discipline, absolutely ruined all those who were inclined to favour his party, and who had even submitted to the laws of Christian the Second, so that when the king regained the provinces which had been conquered, he found the whole country destroyed, the people in a state of anarchy, and those who had any property left, looking up to him as their deliverer and guardian. All the common people in Denmark had been so oppressed and tyrannically treated by the senate, the nobles, and the bishops, that they were exasperated against them to the last degree; and if the count of Oldenburg had kept proper order and discipline in the conquered provinces, and treated the people with humanity and good-nature, there was the greatest appearance that he might either have placed Christian the Second again upon the throne, or even have mounted the throne himself.

I should have observed, that this count called himself a zealous Protestant, and that all the citizens of the great towns were Protestants; the nobles were ruined, and the common people could not think themselves in security, nor live in peace, so long as the bishops and the majority of the senate, who had heretofore been their tyrants, were in a situation to injure them again; and therefore they would have joined themselves with any power rather than fall again under their ancient governors.

As soon as Christian the Third found himself fixed upon the throne, in the year 1536, he began to reflect upon the disagreeable situation into which the Roman Catholic clergy had plunged the kingdom; and, from their great riches and power, how much they were still in a situation to give him great uneasiness, and

and to oppress and persecute the people: this he considered as a dangerous wound in the body of the state; and, for the cure of which, he saw that one of its members, which was already become a charge to the others, must be cut off. Christian thereupon communicated his ideas to some of the principal of the senators and of the nobility, and his design was unanimously applauded. Assured therefore of the concurrence of the majority of the senate, he assembled that body with the greatest secrecy, and they immediately formed the resolution, “ To abolish
 “ the temporal power of the bishops, and to employ their great
 “ revenues to supply the wants of the state; to hinder them
 “ from having, in future, any authority either in the church or
 “ in the state; and if a general council, which was then de-
 “ manded by almost all the Christian powers, should order it
 “ otherwise, not to permit their being re-established but with
 “ the consent of the king, the senate, and the states; to encourage the Protestant religion, and to support its interests with
 “ all their power; and, in fact, to support the king with their
 “ lives and fortunes if he was attacked on account of religion,
 “ or for any other cause.”

This resolution was signed and sealed in form, and all the senators promised to keep the secret till it was carried into execution. All the bishops, in the different parts of the kingdom were arrested almost at the same time, and without any disturbance or disorder, and confined in different castles; and to prevent any bad consequences which such a bold resolution might occasion in the kingdom, and the sinister interpretations which might be given of it, the king immediately convoked the states to Copenhagen: all the nobility received orders to be there in person, and the commons by their deputies; but the clergy re-

ceived no summonses to attend this assembly. The diet was very numerous, and they immediately began with forming a model for the capitulation of the king; and when it was completed he mounted with the senate upon a great theatre, which was raised for this purpose in the middle of the assembly, where he expressed in the most lively colours the deplorable situation that the kingdom was in; "And though," said he, "the nobility and the people have often been guilty of violences during the late troubles, and committed such excesses as were inexcusable, yet their numbers and other circumstances oblige me to forget all that is passed, in hopes that my example will be a law to every one of them to pardon the injuries which he has received: but it must be acknowledged, that the origin of all our evils came from the tyrannical ambition of the clergy, and particularly of the bishops." The king likewise accused them, "Of having persecuted with violence those who preached the reformed religion; of having published several decrees contrary to the laws of the kingdom; of having exercised a tyrannical authority in their respective dioceses; of having raised several obstacles against the election of a king, manifestly against the laws and customs of the kingdom, and against the public good, which had been the cause of all the evils that the kingdom had suffered." All these facts were so well known to the whole assembly, that no body attempted to defend them; whereupon the senate concluded with declaring, that they thought it would be just and necessary to annihilate for ever this proud domination of the clergy, which had been the occasion of so many troubles in the state, and to abolish the public worship of the Roman Catholic religion in the kingdom, but without offering any violence to any person whatsoever; to apply the immense riches of the clergy towards paying the public debts,

debts, to the support of the poor, the university, and the other schools, and for the maintenance of the reformed clergy; as the reformed religion was now become the predominant religion of the kingdom. After having demanded with a loud voice, whether this resolution of the king and the senate was approved of by the states, all the members of that assembly answered, by loud acclamations, that they approved of it; and immediately it was made a law. Moreover, as they had been taught by experience, how dangerous it was to leave the throne vacant, and the kingdom without a chief, they resolved to prevent the like evils for the future, by appointing a successor to the king; which should be duke Frederic his eldest son; or, in case of his death, the eldest of his other sons: but, if all his sons should die before him, then the states should name some other successor, and that the prince so called to the throne should bear the title of prince of Denmark. Afterwards the king confirmed the nobility in all the concessions which his father Frederic the First had granted them; particularly in what they called the right of life and death over their vassals, and of punishing them in what manner they they thought proper.

From the publication of this decree we may date the ruin of the power of the clergy in Denmark, who had so often involved the kingdom in troubles and bloodshed. But as this order occasioned Christian the Second to be dethroned, to augment and support their own tyranny, the nobles accomplished their demolition for purposes no less laudable; the good of the state and the security of the constitution did not seem to have been any part of their design. The nobles concluded, that by the destruction of the clergy their own authority and power would be so very much augmented, that the other orders would not be capable,

ble, in future, of laying any restraint upon them; but they did not foresee, that as a great part of the crown lands were fallen into the hands of the clergy, when those lands were again annexed to the domains of the crown, the royal authority would be considerably increased.

It is true, the Lutheran clergy had very little of the power of those whom they replaced: and in a country where there was very little commerce, the citizens had neither that credit nor those talents necessary to attempt the regulation of their constitution. With regard to the farmers, the greatest part of them had long since been in a state of slavery; and those who called themselves free only sent their deputies to the diet, to shew that they had been free formerly: so that these two orders which had, with the nobles, before composed the states of the kingdom, were now reduced only to an empty name: the latter very soon rendered themselves masters of almost all the affairs of the state. All the places in the senate and in the court were occupied by them and by their friends; and very soon after there was no employment of any consequence which could be conferred upon any person, however deserving, without their consent. But what gives us the clearest idea of their tyrannical disposition, was a law which the senate soon after published, to forbid any person, either ecclesiastic or secular, who was not noble, to buy any freehold lands in the kingdom, or to endeavour to acquire such lands by any other title. It will from hence appear how dangerous it is to attempt making any alteration in the constitution of a state, without having well weighed all the consequences which may result from it: the most dangerous revolutions have often been the consequences of alterations of this kind; and that which

which happened in Denmark, in the following century, may be justly regarded as the consequence of this arrangement.

In Norway, the archbishop of Drontheim, at the head of all the Roman Catholic clergy, was no less violent against the Protestant king than the bishops of Denmark: they kept up a correspondence with the court of Henry the Eighth of England, and absolutely refused to elect Christian the Third to be their king; and their example was followed by the greatest part of the inhabitants of this kingdom: however, as many of the nobility, and as well of the other orders, were become Protestants, Christian had still a considerable party in the senate and in the states; so that, in the beginning of this year 1536, when the latter were assembled at Drontheim, Christian notified to them his having been elected king of Denmark, and also demanded to be elected their king, by virtue of the union of the two kingdoms: but being at the same time pressed by his enemies, he also demanded succours, and a subsidy to carry on the war. The Norwegians, who had always received a proposition of this kind indignantly, even when it came from their legal king, were highly displeased with Christian's demands; and the archbishop used all his rhetoric to make the people believe that this demand was the presage of a tyrannical government. Hereupon the people rose in a tumultuous manner, and, at the instigation of the archbishop, massacred several of the king's friends, and obliged the rest to leave the kingdom: but when the king had overcome his enemies in Denmark, the archbishop, seeing the storm which was ready to break upon his head, desired to capitulate; but, as this was refused him, he soon after left the kingdom, accompanied by several of his friends, and retired into the Low Countries with all his effects. The affairs of Norway now began to change
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their face ; and, before the end of the year, the whole kingdom was reduced to obedience by the arms of Christian : it is true such a sudden change was not expected by the court of Denmark, although at the time when they received the most disagreeable news from Norway, the Danish nobility, who were now intoxicated by their pride and ambition, took such a step as has astonished all mankind even to this day: this nobility took upon them to persuade the king to pronounce a fulminating sentence against the states and people of Norway, because their archbishops and a few of their chiefs had been guilty of some misdemeanors, which was composed in the following words : “ As
“ the kingdom of Norway has so declined in its power and
“ its revenues, that its inhabitants are no longer in a situation
“ to support a king, but are nevertheless obliged to be united
“ for ever to the crown of Denmark ; and as the greatest part
“ of its senators, and particularly the archbishop, who is the
“ principal person in the state, have lately shewed themselves
“ to be enemies to this crown, contrary to their engagements
“ and duty ; for these reasons, we Christian, &c. have engaged
“ ourselves, towards the senate and the nobility of the kingdom
“ of Denmark, and have promised them that, if it shall please
“ the Almighty that we shall recover the said kingdom of Norway, or any part of its provinces or territories, so that they
“ shall be reduced under our obedience, the said kingdom, or
“ any part thereof, which shall be so subdued, shall be and for
“ ever remain subjected to the crown of Denmark, as a province of that crown ; so that, in future, it shall no more be
“ a kingdom a-part, nor shall it be any more called so, but shall
“ be a part of the kingdom of Denmark, and subjected for ever
“ to this crown ; but it shall nevertheless be understood, that if
“ Norway shall hereafter be engaged in any war, the senate
“ and

“ and the states of Denmark shall be bound to assist them faithfully, so that they may receive the necessary succours.”

There is the greatest reason to think that this decree was immediately carried into execution, and that the senate of Norway was suppressed from this moment; that the states had not any influence upon the elections, and that, if they were ever after assembled, it was only to do homage to their new masters; that from this time the Danish nobility had more authority, and filled more places of trust in Norway, than they had ever done before; and, in fact, that this kingdom had in future lost all its independence, and was become a province of Denmark. This was undoubtedly one of the most tyrannical acts that ever was published in Denmark, and worthy of the then nobility of this kingdom, because we are to regard Christian the Third as a mere machine, employed to execute and give a sanction to their decrees.

From this æra it may be said, that the government of Denmark was rather aristocratical than monarchical; and that it continued so during this whole reign, and during the reigns of Frederic the Second and Christian the Fourth. Frederic the Third had little more power than the doge of Venice till the year 1660, when the government was changed, as will be hereafter described, by a famous revolution; and this tyrannical nobility, which had so long tyrannized over all the other orders in the kingdom, and even made the greatest part of the people their slaves, were now reduced to the same condition, in which they continued till their race were nearly extinguished, and those who remained were reduced to their primitive insignificance by the absolute power of the crown; a just reward for the tyranny and oppression which they had exercised for many ages,

not only over their fellow subjects, who were equally entitled to the same liberties and privileges with themselves, by the original constitution of their country, but even over their kings, when they attempted to establish justice and civil policy in the state.

It will be seen, from this brief but exact history of the rise and progress of the ancient constitution of Denmark, that this government was much upon the same plan originally with the rest of the Gothic governments: the king came to the throne by election; and, in conjunction with the senate, where he presided, was invested with the executive power: he likewise commanded the army, and decided finally all the disputes which arose between his subjects. The legislative power, together with the right of election of the king, was vested in the states; who were composed, first, of the order of nobility, and secondly, the order of the citizens and farmers: after the Christian religion had gained ground in the North, the clergy were also admitted, not only to be an order of the states, but to have seats likewise in the senate. These orders had their respective rights and privileges, and were independent of each other: the crown had also its prerogatives, and a certain fixed revenue arising out of lands which were appropriated to its support. From reflecting upon the nature of this constitution, it might be concluded that no form of government could be better calculated for civil society, and for the happiness of mankind: but such have always been the imperfections of human nature, that what was calculated for their support and happiness was made the instrument of oppression and tyranny. The balance of this government was never properly constructed: the nobles very soon assumed a dictatorial power, and oppressed the people, as the national assemblies were not regularly held to redress their grievances. But nothing could
equal

equal the avarice, pride, ambition, and tyranny of the Roman Catholic clergy, when they came to have a share in the civil government: instead of being the gospel-messengers of peace and good-will towards mankind, and the examples of humility, they became the fomenters of tyranny, oppression, and war; and by far surpassed the nobility in pride and ambition. The representatives of the people had neither power, credit, or talents to counteract the efforts of the other two orders, who forced the crown to give up its prerogatives, and to oppress and tyrannize over the people. Christian the Second, by endeavouring imprudently to stem the torrent of their oppression, lost his crown and his liberty: Christian the Third, by prudently uniting himself with the nobles and the senate, destroyed the power of the clergy: and the still more prudent and politic Frederic the Third, by uniting himself with the Lutheran clergy, though they were but the shadow of those whom they replaced, and the representatives of the people, effectually destroyed the power of the nobility, though they were become as so many little sovereigns in their respective territories, exempted themselves from all public impositions, and divided the sovereign authority of the state with the king. This order, by their privileges, and the tone of superiority which they had taken, decided every thing according to their will in the assembly of the states, and looked down with contempt upon the Lutheran clergy, and the representatives of the people, who indeed were not in a situation to make themselves be respected: this haughty order possessed the greatest part of the landed property of the kingdom, claimed the right of making all those who were born upon their lands their slaves; not that any such right existed by the original institution of the feudal tenures; but, as has been before observed, by different capitulations which they made with their former kings, they first claimed

it as a right; and when the senate assumed the sole power of prescribing the conditions whereby their kings were to receive the crown, they forced the latter to consent to it in form, by making it a part of their capitulation: so that afterwards those poor people were bought and sold with the lands, as so many sheep or oxen. No farmers, but those who held their lands immediately of the crown, or who had the freehold in themselves, were admitted to seats in the states. When the states were separated, the nobles divided with the king the government which then subsisted in the nation. The four great officers of state, i.e. the chancellor, the great marshal, the high admiral, and the master of the king's household, were chosen out of their order; and the authority of each of these great officers was almost equal to that of the king; and consequently it might have been easily perceived, that such a mixture of monarchy and of aristocracy could never have continued longer than while the king was too weak to oppose it, or than till the other orders were in a situation to oppose the nobility. All the kings of Denmark, for several centuries before the time of Frederic the Third, as is seen in the foregoing history, had been obliged to sign the most rigid capitulations, which were chiefly calculated to promote the privileges and interests of the nobility and clergy: but no prince of Denmark was forced to sign so rigid a capitulation as he whom I have just now mentioned. It was calculated solely for the interests of the nobility; many of whom were now become so powerful, that they assumed a greater state than the king; and from the great embarrassment which they continually caused in the government, made the states of royalty a very disagreeable one. The senate and the nobility tyrannized over the king, and lived at discretion upon the people, whom they regarded as their slaves.

In the year 1658, Charles Gustavus king of Sweden invaded Denmark, under pretence of succouring the king against the senate: the kingdom was now in such confusion by the tyranny and oppression of the nobility, that it was not in a state to make such a defence as it appeared capable of doing. Copenhagen was besieged on the 11th of August, and the siege was carried on till the 11th of February 1659, when the Swedes were repulsed by the citizens of this town in a sally which they then made, and obliged to retire; and by the succours which the Danes received from Holland, the kingdom was delivered from its enemies, and a peace was signed at Copenhagen the 27th of May 1660.

On the 8th of September, in the same year, an assembly of the states was convoked, to take into consideration the deplorable situation of the kingdom; and to endeavour to remedy the evils with which the state was afflicted: the army was not paid, and ready to mutiny; the fleet was in such a wretched situation that very few of the ships were in a condition to bear the sea, and all the public treasure was exhausted by the avarice and ill-conduct of the nobility.

If ever therefore this haughty order ought to treat the other orders with some respect and condescension, it should have been done at this time: the whole kingdom was exasperated against them on account of the losses which they had sustained, as the divisions between the king and the senate had weakened the state: the citizens of the great towns began now to feel their strength, and those of Copenhagen in particular; who, from the gallant defence which they had made against the Swedes, were become proud of the privileges which they had thereby procured themselves: the most considerable of which was that which

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conferred

conferred upon them several of the rights of the nobility, and made this capital, in some measure, as a fourth order in the states. If the nobles had been prudent, they would not in such circumstances have assumed that odious superiority over the other orders, which they knew was always disagreeable. The principal matter to be decided in this diet was, to raise money for the payment of the army, and to supply the other wants of the state. The nobles proposed, in a long memorial which they laid before the other orders, to establish a tax upon every thing that was consumed, to which they, as they supposed, graciously consented to subject themselves; but with so many restrictions as were extremely disagreeable to the other orders: they consented to pay this tax only when they were in town, and not while they were in the country upon their own lands: they wanted to regulate this imposition upon the farmers; but would not subject themselves to it for more than three years; and at length told the other orders publicly, that they ought to regard it as a mark of the greatest condescension, that they had deviated on this occasion from their established privileges. The clergy and the representatives of the people were extremely shocked at this declaration, and proposed in their turn to put up to farm to the highest bidder all the fiefs of the crown, which the nobility then enjoyed upon paying only a small acknowledgment. This was attacking them in the most sensible point; and therefore they exclaimed violently against this proposition. Never did so favourable an opportunity offer for the king to humble these little tyrants: the constancy and valour which his majesty had shewn in defending his capital against the Swedes, had filled the hearts of all the kingdom with love and zeal for him: the inferior orders were irritated against the nobles; and, as if every thing was united in his favour, the speakers of the clergy, and
of

of the citizens and farmers, who led these orders, united to humble the pride of the nobility, and to augment the power of the crown. Never did so favourable an opportunity offer to rectify the errors of this constitution, and to relieve their enslaved and oppressed fellow citizens; but these men suffered their resentment to overcome their prudence; and instead of rectifying the abuses of the state, destroyed the constitution entirely. The bishop of Copenhagen, as speaker of the order of the clergy, proposed to his order to sign a declaration to make the crown hereditary in the royal family. This proposition, having been readily accepted and signed, was afterwards sent to the representatives of the people, who adopted it and signed it immediately. The same day these two orders sent it to the speaker of the nobles to have the concurrence of that order: astonished and alarmed at this bold step, the nobles, instead of concurring with the other orders, or endeavouring to regulate the differences which had arisen between them, began to negotiate with the king, and would have engaged him to be contented with the succession in the male line; but the politic Frederic, having been informed of what had already been done in his favour, and what was further intended to be done, rejected this offer. Two days afterwards the two inferior orders came to the house of nobles to have their answer to this matter; but as the latter only endeavoured to gain time, and abated nothing of their haughtiness, the clergy and the representatives of the people went the same day in a body to the king, and presented the act to him which made the crown hereditary in his family. The king thanked these two orders for their good intentions towards him; but at the same time informed them, that he could not accept their good-will before the nobility had likewise consented to it. The latter made a great resistance, and wanted to quit the town,

and dissolve the diet, but they found the gates of the city were shut, and that their further resistance might be attended with great danger; after two days deliberation, therefore, they gave their consent to the resolution of the two orders. The capitulation, which limited the king's authority, was restored to him, and the following day all the orders took a new oath of fidelity to him; but it was not till the 10th of January 1661, that the three orders signed each a separate act, by which they consented that the crown should be hereditary in the royal family, as well in the female as in the male line, and by which they invested the king with the absolute power, and gave him the right to regulate the succession and the regency. The act of the nobility is signed and sealed by all the senators of the kingdom, and by the heads of all the noble families which then composed this order; that of the clergy is signed and sealed by all the deputies of this order in the states, and by the rectors of every parish; and that of the representatives of the people is not only signed and sealed by their deputies in the states, but also by the magistrates and principal persons in every town; all which acts are carefully preserved among the public records of the kingdom to this day.

No reasonable and intelligent person can reflect upon this great event without being filled with wonder and amazement. Some excuse indeed might be offered for the clergy and the people who had long groaned under the tyranny and oppression of the nobility; and who supposed that they should find, under an absolute monarchy, at least that humanity which one rational being owed to another, and which had been denied them under the aristocratical tyranny of the nobles: but that the latter should be so lost to every sentiment of sociability, to every duty which they owed to their Creator, and to their fellow

fellow creatures, and so blind to their own interest, as well as to that of their posterity, is what must fill every thinking person with astonishment, serve as a monument of the degeneracy of human nature, and verify all that historians have said of the abandoned profligacy, tyranny, and ignorance of this detestable order. Not content with reducing all the farmers and poor people, who were born upon their lands, to the most vile state of slavery, buying them and selling them as so many sheep and oxen, and, though they were Christians and fellow creatures, treating them in many respects as beasts, they thought themselves hardly used because they were not permitted to use all their fellow subjects in the same manner, and even to tyrannize over the king himself. They had for near a century before this revolution assumed to themselves the sole right of imposing taxes, and the first use they made of it was to exempt themselves from them, though they were at this time possessed of the greatest part of the riches of the kingdom.

No sooner was Frederic invested with the sovereign power, than he began to reduce the authority, and to humble the pride of this haughty order: several of their privileges, particularly that of life and death over their farmers, were formally annulled by royal edicts: many of them at first made opposition to these edicts, and endeavoured to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, as they had been accustomed to do, upon the like occasions, for several centuries before; but the face of affairs was changed: the court took every occasion which presented to cut them off; so that in less than twenty years the greatest part of this formidable order existed no more. They saw all the principal places of trust in the kingdom filled with strangers, from which they were totally excluded; that justice and equity, which they had

formerly denied their fellow creatures, were now denied them ; and the rod of power was continually suspended over their heads. Thus was the ancient constitution of Denmark, founded in the times of paganism upon the principles of equity and justice, destroyed in the more civilized ages of Christianity, by the pride and arrogance of a clergy who professed shewing themselves the examples of humility and justice ; and by the tyranny and barbarity of a nobility, who should have given examples of moderation and equity, and have been the guardians of the public liberty. How far the citizens and common people were benefited by this revolution, will appear in the following chapter, wherein I shall state the arrangements which have been made since that æra, and which form the present government of Denmark.

C H A P. II.

Of the Form of Government at present established in DENMARK.

I HAVE observed in the foregoing chapter, that when the states surrendered their power into the king's hands, they likewise invested him and his successors with the power of regulating and changing the form of government in what manner they thought proper, except what regarded the succession, which was regulated by Frederic the Third in a formal law, that was for ever to be esteemed as a law of the Medes and Persians, and the only fundamental law of Denmark. To give a clear idea of the present government of this kingdom it will be necessary to give an exact translation of this royal law, as it is called, which is nearly as follows: "Frederic the Third, by the grace of
" God,

“ God, king of Denmark and of Norway, and king of the Goths
 “ and Vandals, &c. &c. maketh it known to all people, That
 “ instructed by the example of others, as well as by our own
 “ experience, of the marvellous wisdom with which Almighty
 “ God governs all the empires of this world, and regulates their
 “ destinies; we acknowledge that it was to his Almighty power
 “ that we owed the deliverance from those great perils and
 “ dangers which, for several years past, threatened the ruin
 “ of our person, family, and kingdom; and that it was by
 “ his paternal bounty and goodness that we were preserved;
 “ and that, by the care of his providence, we have not only re-
 “ stored the desired peace and tranquillity in our dominions, but
 “ that our senate and the states of the kingdom, composed
 “ of the nobility, clergy, and the representatives of the people,
 “ have resolved to renounce the right of election, which apper-
 “ tained to them; and in consequence they have thought pro-
 “ per to restore into our hands the copies of the capitulation
 “ which we had signed, and to annul all the clauses and condi-
 “ tions thereof; to discharge us from the oath which we took
 “ when we came to the throne; and to declare us absolutely free
 “ from all the obligations which it imposed upon us. The said
 “ states, of their free will and inclination, and without any so-
 “ licitation on our part, gave us at the same time an hereditary
 “ right for us, and for all our legitimate descendants, over our
 “ kingdoms of Denmark and of Norway, and authorized us to
 “ exercise, in an absolute manner, all the rights of the sove-
 “ reign power: and moreover they have annulled, in conse-
 “ quence of this disposition, all the obligatory letters that we
 “ gave in the name of our well-beloved son prince Christian,
 “ dated the 18th June 1650, the provisional disposition which
 “ was signed in 1651, and in general every thing which was

“ contained in all the acts, documents, or constitutions of the
 “ state, contrary to the right of succession, and the absolute
 “ power which has been conferred upon us: to which they have
 “ added the power, not only to regulate the form of government
 “ in future, but also to determine the right of succession, and
 “ the order in which the male and female lines should suc-
 “ ceed each other, and how the kingdom should be governed
 “ during a minority, if the case should happen; requiring us
 “ to publish an ordinance upon all these points, which they
 “ have promised to regard as the fundamental and unalterable
 “ law of the state, and to observe it religiously in all its arti-
 “ cles; so that neither they nor their descendants shall ever
 “ trouble us or our legal descendants while the government
 “ of the kingdom exists; promising on the contrary by an
 “ oath to defend it, at the peril of their lives, honours, and
 “ fortunes, against all those, whether our subjects or strangers,
 “ who may attack it by word or action, so that no reasons of
 “ hatred, of friendship, of fear, of danger, of utility, of damage,
 “ of envy, or of any human artifice, shall ever turn either them
 “ or their descendants from their duty respecting this matter.
 “ We shall pass over in silence all the other marks of love and
 “ esteem which our dear and faithful subjects have given us, which
 “ are so many proofs of their zeal for the prosperity of our royal
 “ and hereditary house, and for the security and tranquillity of
 “ our kingdoms. Considering then, with the greatest attention,
 “ the signal benefit that the Divine Providence has granted us,
 “ and the great love that our faithful subjects have shewn us,
 “ we have, on our part, employed all our attention and judg-
 “ ment to establish such a form of government, and such an
 “ order of succession, as we thought would be the most proper
 “ for a monarchical state; which we have established by this
 “ royal

“ royal law, to be the fundamental law of the state, and to be
“ for ever observed by our heirs, and all their legitimate descen-
“ dents, as well as by all the inhabitants of our kingdoms and
“ provinces, without any exception, and without its ever being
“ subject to any change or contradiction, but it shall always be
“ regarded as unalterable and irrevocable.”

Article First, “ God being the cause and principal of every
“ thing, the first disposition that we make by this law is, that
“ all our successors and descendants, whether male or female,
“ even to the latest posterity, who shall occupy the throne of
“ Denmark and of Norway, shall adore one and the true God,
“ in the manner in which he has revealed himself in his holy
“ word, which is explained to us in our confession of faith, made in
“ conformity to that of Aufbourg in the year 1530; and our will
“ is, that they shall carefully support this religion in all its
“ purity in their kingdoms, and that they shall defend it, with
“ all their power, in all their territories, against all heretics and
“ blasphemers.” Secondly, “ The hereditary kings of Den-
“ mark and of Norway shall and ought to be regarded by all
“ their subjects, as the only supreme governors that they have
“ upon earth: they shall be above all human laws; and in all
“ affairs ecclesiastical or civil, they shall not acknowledge any
“ other superior judge but God alone.” Thirdly, “ It is the
“ king alone who shall enjoy the supreme right of making and
“ of interpreting the laws, of changing them, or of repealing
“ them entirely: he may likewise repeal the laws that himself
“ or any of his predecessors shall have made, except this royal
“ law, which shall always remain unalterable and irrevocable,
“ as the fundamental law of the state; and grant exemptions,
“ as well real as personal, to all those whom he shall judge
“ proper

“ proper to dispense with the obligation of obeying the laws.”
Fourthly, “ Moreover it is the king alone who shall be invested
“ with the supreme power of granting all public employments
“ to those whom he shall think proper, and of displacing those
“ who are invested with them, when he shall think it necessary;
“ who shall appoint all the ministers and officers of the public,
“ under what name or title soever they shall be employed in the
“ service of the state: so that all sorts of dignities and all sorts
“ offices, of what order soever they are, shall take their origin
“ from the supreme power of the prince, as from their source.”
Fifthly, “ It is the king alone to whom the right of disposing
“ the military forces and fortifications of the kingdom apper-
“ tains: he shall have the sole right of making war with whom
“ and when he shall think proper; of making treaties, of levying
“ of taxes, and of raising contributions of every kind; see-
“ ing that kingdoms and provinces cannot be defended but
“ with armies, and armies cannot be supported but by subsidies,
“ which are raised upon the subjects.” Sixthly, “ The king
“ shall have the supreme jurisdiction over all the ecclesiastics in
“ his states, of what rank soever they be: it is he who is to regu-
“ late and determine the rights and ceremonies of the divine ser-
“ vice; who is to convoke the councils and synods in order to
“ regulate the affairs of religion, and to terminate their sessions;
“ and, in one word, the king shall unite in his proper person
“ all the eminent rights of royalty and of sovereignty, under
“ what name soever they may be arranged, and shall exercise
“ them by virtue of his proper authority.” Seventhly, “ All
“ the affairs of the kingdom, the letters, and all the public acts,
“ shall be expedited in the king’s name; they shall be sealed
“ with his seal, and signed with his hand from the time that
“ he shall be of age.” Eighthly, “ The king shall be
“ deemed

“ deemed of age when he shall be entered into the four-
“teenth year of his age, and from this time he shall pub-
“licly declare, that he will be his own master, and that
“he will no longer have either tutor or guardian.” Ninthly,
“For the establishment of the king’s tutors or governors dur-
“ing a minority, the dispositions which the preceding king
“shall have left in his testament upon that head, shall be ex-
“actly followed: but if he shall not have left any such dispo-
“sitions, or such a testament, the queen mother shall be regent
“of the kingdom, during the minority of her son; and she
“shall have the seven first ministers and officers of the king to
“aid her in the functions of the regency: the queen, con-
“jointly with them, shall form a council, which shall have the
“government of the kingdom; and every thing shall be regu-
“lated therein by the plurality of voices: the queen shall have
“two voices, but the other counsellors shall have only one each.
“All the letters, ordinances, and in general all the affairs of
“the kingdom shall be expedited in the name of the king, al-
“though all these acts are signed by the regent and council.”
Tenthly, “If the queen, mother of the king, was dead, or mar-
“ried again, the prince of the blood, who is the nearest rela-
“tion to the king in the descending line of our royal house,
“provided that he is in the kingdom, and that he can always
“be there, shall be regent of the kingdom, on condition that
“he has attained to the age of majority, that is, that he is en-
“tered into the eighteenth year of his age: he shall have like-
“wise two voices in the council, and all other particulars shall
“be regulated as in the foregoing article.” Eleventhly, “But
“if the before-mentioned prince of the blood is not yet come to
“the age of majority, and there is no other prince of the blood,
“then the before-mentioned seven officers of the king shall
“exercise

“ exercise alone the government of the kingdom, and shall be
“ guardians to the king; they shall have an equal authority,
“ and each person shall have a voice in the council; and in
“ every other respect they shall conform themselves to what has
“ been before-mentioned.” Twelfthly, “ If the place of one
“ of these counsellors, charged with the administration of the
“ affairs of the kingdom, shall become vacant by death, or by
“ any other accident, the other counsellors shall immediately
“ make choice of a person to fill this employment who is wor-
“ thy of it; and the person so chosen shall occupy the same
“ place and prerogatives that were occupied by him whom he
“ succeeded.” Thirteenthly, “ The regent and all the coun-
“ sellors before-mentioned shall take an oath to the king, not
“ only to be faithful and affectionate to him, but they shall
“ thereby specially oblige themselves in quality of guardians,
“ during the minority of the king, to maintain the absolute
“ and monarchical power of the king, and his hereditary right,
“ during the course of their administration; and to preserve the
“ same in all its extent for him and his successors: they shall
“ moreover promise to govern the kingdom as men who must
“ give an account of their administration to God and to the
“ king.” Fourteenthly, “ As soon as the regent and the coun-
“ sellors shall have taken an oath to the king, and are entered
“ into the administration, they shall, as soon as possible, order
“ an exact state of every thing which appertains to the crown to
“ be made out, comprehending the army, and navy, and forti-
“ fications of the kingdom; of the lands, jewels, and money
“ which belong to the state; and of the revenues and expences
“ of the king; to the end that they may be exactly informed
“ of the situation of the kingdom when they entered upon
“ their administration: they shall afterwards be obliged to
“ give

“ give an account to the king upon this footing when he shall
 “ come of age to answer to him for every thing; and to indem-
 “ nify him for all the losses which he shall have suffered by
 “ their fault.” Fifteenthly, “ The throne of the kingdoms of
 “ Denmark and Norway shall never be judged vacant, so long
 “ as there is any descendent in the male or female line, who
 “ shall owe his origin to us: therefore, as soon as the king
 “ is dead, he who shall be the nearest to him in the line shall
 “ immediately and actually be king to all intents and purposes:
 “ he shall, without any other ceremony, take possession of the
 “ throne, and assume the title of king; seeing that the royal
 “ dignity and the absolute monarchical power belong to him
 “ by right of succession, from the moment that his predecessor is
 “ no more.” Sixteenthly, “ Although the states of the king-
 “ dom, composed of the nobles, clergy, and the representatives
 “ of the people, when they conferred upon us, and upon all our
 “ descendants in the male and female line, the absolute monar-
 “ chical power, for to enjoy it by right of succession, did thereby
 “ establish that from the moment one king is dead, the crown,
 “ the sceptre, and the title and power of an hereditary monarch
 “ are devolved upon his nearest heir; so that from this æra the
 “ kings of Denmark and of Norway, so long as any branch of
 “ our royal family shall exist, will be born such, without hav-
 “ ing any occasion for an election; yet nevertheless, to make
 “ it known to all the universe that the kings of Denmark and
 “ Norway esteem it as their principal glory to acknowledge
 “ their dependence upon the Supreme Being, and look upon it
 “ as the greatest honour to receive the blessing of God by his
 “ ministers, it is our will that the kings shall be anointed pub-
 “ lickly, and in the church, with all the rights and ceremonies
 “ that religion and good order require.” Seventeenthly, “ The
 Vol. I. Q q “ king,

“ king, nevertheless, shall not be bound to take any oath, nor
“ to enter into any engagement of what nature soever, respect-
“ ing the monarchy; seeing that, as a free and absolute sove-
“ reign, his subjects can neither impose upon him the necessity
“ of an oath, nor prescribe any conditions to him which shall
“ limit his authority.” Eighteenthly, “ The king may fix a
“ day for his being anointed and crowned whenever he shall think
“ proper, even before he is major; he should by this religious
“ act hasten to implore the blessing of God, and the succours
“ which he gives to his anointed: with respect to the ceremo-
“ nies which shall be observed upon this occasion, he shall like-
“ wise order them as he shall think proper, according to the cir-
“ cumstances.” Nineteenthly, “ And, as we are taught by
“ reason, as well as by every day’s experience, that the united
“ forces of a state are more powerful, and better calculated to
“ defend that state than when they are divided; and that the
“ more the empire of a prince is considerable, the better likewise
“ he will be able to defend it, as well as his subjects, against
“ all foreign powers, it is our will that our hereditary kingdoms
“ of Denmark and Norway, with all the provinces which de-
“ pend thereon, the islands, fortifications, royal rights, jewels
“ of the crown, money, and all other rich effects; the fleet and
“ army, and every thing which belongs to them; and, in fact,
“ every thing that we actually possess, or which may hereafter
“ be acquired to us, or to our successors, by the rights of war,
“ succession, or by virtue of any other legal title; we say, that
“ it is our will, that all these things, without any exception,
“ shall remain united and undivided under one hereditary king
“ of Denmark and Norway; and that the princes of the blood,
“ of the one and of the other sex, content with their hopes,
“ shall wait the succession to which they may be called, accord-
“ ing

“ ing to the order that we shall establish.” Twentiethly, “ And
 “ seeing that, by the preceding article, which we would fix as
 “ an essential part of this law, and which is not to be changed
 “ on any pretence whatever, the kingdoms and provinces which
 “ we actually possess, and that we may acquire hereafter, either
 “ by succession or by any other legal title, can never be sepa-
 “ rated or divided, it is our will also, that our successors shall
 “ assure the other children of the royal house a convenient and
 “ honourable subsistence, according to their birth, which may
 “ be given in money or in land; but if this subsistence is assigned
 “ in land, under what honourable title soever, they shall only
 “ receive the yearly revenue during their lives, but the land
 “ shall always remain subject to the royal sovereign authority;
 “ which rule shall likewise be observed for the lands that shall
 “ constitute the jointure of the queen.” Twenty-firstly, “ It
 “ shall not be lawful for any prince of our royal house, while
 “ he is living in the kingdoms or provinces under our dominion,
 “ to marry, to go out of the kingdom, or to enter into the ser-
 “ vice of any foreign power, without having first obtained the
 “ permission of the king.” Twenty-secondly, “ The daughters
 “ and sisters of the king shall be supported as princesses till they
 “ shall be married with the consent of the king; they shall then
 “ receive their fortunes in ready money, which shall be regu-
 “ lated according to the king’s pleasure: they shall not after-
 “ wards have any pretensions to form, either for them or for
 “ their children, until they or their children shall be called to
 “ the throne.” Twenty-thirdly, “ Upon the death of the king,
 “ if he who is the next heir shall be out of the kingdom, he
 “ shall immediately return into Denmark without any delay,
 “ and shall there establish his residence and his court, and take
 “ upon himself the government of the state: but if he who is

“ the nearest, and consequently the legal, heir of the deceased
“ king, shall neglect to present himself for the space of three
“ months after he received advice of the death of his predecessor,
“ except that he shall be hindered by bad health, or by some
“ other legal cause, he who follows him immediately in the line,
“ and who after him would have the right to succeed to the go-
“ vernment, shall take possession of the throne: what regards
“ the regency and the government of the kingdom till the king’s
“ arrival shall be regulated by the laws before observed respect-
“ ing the regency during a minority.” Twenty-fourthly, “ The
“ princes and the princesses of the blood shall have, after the
“ king and the queen, the first rank in the kingdom, and they
“ shall observe among themselves the same order of presence that
“ they shall find mentioned in the order and right of succession.”
Twenty-fifthly, “ They shall not appear before any inferior judge,
“ because the king himself is their judge in the first and last
“ instance, or him who he shall appoint for this effect.” Twenty-
sixthly, “ All that we have hitherto said of the power and of
“ the eminence of the sovereignty, and if there is any thing
“ more which has not been expressly and specially mentioned,
“ it will be comprehended and contained in the exposition which
“ we shall proceed to make of our intentions with regard to this
“ matter. The king of Denmark and of Norway shall be an
“ hereditary king, and invested with the highest power, so that
“ every thing which may be said and written to the advantage
“ of an absolute and hereditary Christian king, should also be
“ understood in the most favourable sense of the hereditary king
“ of Denmark and Norway. The same thing shall also be un-
“ derstood of the hereditary queen and sovereign of Denmark
“ and Norway, if, in the length of time, the succession shall
“ fall to a princess of the royal blood. And as experience, as
“ well

“ well as the dreadful examples of other countries, shew us how
 “ pernicious it is to abuse the clemency and good nature of
 “ kings and princes, by diminishing their power and authority,
 “ as it has been artfully practised by different persons, and even
 “ by their servants, who had the greatest part of their confi-
 “ dence, to the great prejudice of the public affairs, as well as
 “ to the interest of such kings and princes, so that in many
 “ parts it had been much to be wished that such kings and
 “ princes had kept a more watchful eye over the preservation of
 “ their authority than they have often done ; we shall very seri-
 “ ously order all our successors, the hereditary kings of Den-
 “ mark and Norway, to take very particular care to defend
 “ their hereditary right and their absolute dominion, and not
 “ suffer it to be called in question upon any condition what-
 “ ever ; and we do moreover recommend it to them to preserve
 “ it in the manner that we have established it by this royal
 “ law, and to so transmit it from generation to generation to
 “ all our descendants for ever ; and to make our resolution and
 “ desire the more permanent it is our unalterable will and plea-
 “ sure, that if any person of what rank soever shall dare to
 “ propose or obtain any thing which may in any form or man-
 “ ner, or in any degree, be contrary to the absolute and mo-
 “ narchical power and authority of the king, every thing which
 “ shall have been so granted and obtained shall be regarded as
 “ null and of no effect ; and those who had the art or address,
 “ to obtain such a thing, shall be punished as having been guilty
 “ of the crime of leze majesty, and as men who had violated,
 “ in a criminal manner, the eminence of the absolute and mo-
 “ narchical power of the king.” Twenty-seventhly, “ Having
 “ in the foregoing articles established that there shall be but one
 “ sovereign and master in the kingdoms and provinces which

“ actually appertain to us, or which may hereafter appertain
 “ to us or to our descendents; and moreover ordered, that the
 “ other children of the royal family shall content themselves
 “ with a maintenance worthy of their birth, which shall be re-
 “ gulated by the king, and with the hopes of succeeding to the
 “ crown in their turn; to prevent and remove every kind of
 “ difficulty which may arise herefrom, we have resolved to state
 “ here, in a few words, the order of succession in which every
 “ one of the royal family shall come to the throne. The male
 “ descendents, born of a legitimate marriage, shall be called
 “ first to the succession of this hereditary kingdom, and so long
 “ as there shall be any male issue of a male; neither the female
 “ issue of a male, nor the male or female issue of a female, nor
 “ any person whatever of the female line, shall have any right
 “ to demand the succession of the crown, so long as there shall
 “ be any legal heir in the male line; so that the female issue
 “ of a male shall be preferred to the male issue of a female.”
 Twenty-eighthly, “ In the genealogical order of the heirs of the
 “ crown, the lines shall be exactly observed, and no omission
 “ shall be made because of the age of one line to the prejudice
 “ of the other: the son shall succeed to his father, and as long
 “ as there shall be any male in the first male line, the second
 “ male line shall be excluded, and also afterwards from one line
 “ to the other. And if the right of succession to the kingdom
 “ shall fall to the females, the females who descend from us in
 “ the male line by the sons shall be first admitted, and after-
 “ wards those who descend from us in the female line by the
 “ daughters; thus one line shall succeed to another, and one
 “ person to another, having always regard to the right of pri-
 “ mogeniture; and for to express the thing in a few words, the
 “ males shall always be preferred, and the male lines shall al-
 “ ways

“ways be the first; and among those of the same sex and of
“the same line the eldest shall be the first preferred by the right
“of primogeniture.” Twenty-ninthly, “But for to expose the
“order of succession as clearly as possible, that there may not in
“future be any subject or pretext of difficulty in the interpre-
“tation of the words of this royal law, we have thought it pro-
“per to give an example, in the persons of our children, of the
“manner in which it ought to be understood. When therefore
“it shall please the Divine Providence to give us a celestial
“crown in the place of that which we wear at present, the
“kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, with all our other pro-
“vinces, shall pass entirely, with the absolute and sovereign
“power with which we are invested, to our eldest son the prince
“Christian, so that as long as he shall have male heirs, in the
“male line which descend from him, even if he should be dead
“before he came to the succession; neither the prince George,
“nor the lines which descend from him, nor his sisters, nor
“the lines which they shall form, can have any right to the
“succession of our kingdoms and provinces.” Thirtiethly, “If
“the male posterity of the son and grandson of prince Christian
“shall be extinct, even supposing it shall be after several gene-
“rations, the male line which owed their origin to prince
“George, our second son, shall immediately be invested with,
“by the right of succession for ever, the sovereignty of our
“kingdoms and provinces entire, and without any division;
“one prince shall succeed to another, and one line to another,
“as long as there shall be any male issue, always having regard
“to the age of those who shall be of the same sex, and in the
“same line; so that the eldest brother shall always be preferred
“to the youngest, although he should be born before his father
“came to the throne, and that the youngest was born after he
“acquired

“ acquired the succession : the same rule shall be observed with
“ respect to all our sons, if God shall see it fit to bless our mar-
“ riage, and give us a great number of them.” Thirty-firstly,
“ If it shall so happen, which God forbid, that all the male
“ descendants of our race shall be extinct, the succession to the
“ throne shall devolve upon the daughters of the sons of the
“ last king, and upon their lines, if there shall be any; if not,
“ it shall come to the daughters of the last king, first to the
“ eldest, and to the lines which shall descend from her; and af-
“ terwards to the others, and to the lines which shall descend
“ from them successively; admitting one line after the other.
“ Between the persons of the same line, first the sex, and after-
“ wards the age, is to be regarded; so that the son is to be pre-
“ ferred before the daughter, and the eldest before the youngest,
“ which order should be constantly observed.” Thirty-secondly,
“ If the last king shall not have left any daughters, the princess
“ of the blood, in the male line, who is the nearest relation to
“ him, shall inherit the crown, and all the lines which shall
“ descend from her, the one after the other, as we have already
“ observed.” Thirty-thirdly, “ After her the nearest relation
“ of the late king, who shall be found in one of the female
“ branches descended from us by the males, shall have the king-
“ dom by right of succession, and after her, her sons and grand-
“ sons, the one after the other, and one line shall succeed to
“ the other, as hath been before observed.” Thirty-fourthly,
“ If the lines of our sons, both male and female, shall be ex-
“ tinct, the succession to the throne shall devolve upon the
“ lines of the princesses our daughters; and first to the prin-
“ cess Anna Sophia, as to the eldest, to her sons and grand-
“ sons, from generation to generation; afterwards to the others,
“ the one after the other, and one line after the other; so that,
“ nevertheless,

“ nevertheless, among those who are of the same line, the males
 “ shall be preferred to the females, and the eldest to the youngest;
 “ and as long as any branch of our family shall remain, the so-
 “ vereignty of these kingdoms and provinces shall always belong
 “ to him, by the right of succession, whether it be a prince or
 “ a princess, with the same restrictions respecting lines and per-
 “ sons as is above-mentioned.” Thirty-fifthly, “ The daughter
 “ of the eldest daughter, even in the most remote degree, shall
 “ always be preferred to a son and to a daughter of the youngest
 “ daughter; and it shall not be lawful to pass from one line to
 “ the other; the second line shall be obliged to wait for the
 “ extinction of the first, the third for that of the second, and
 “ the fourth for that of the third.” Thirty-sixthly, “ If the
 “ succession to the throne shall come to the son of a daughter,
 “ and if he shall leave male heirs after him, the same rule shall
 “ be observed towards the male lines which descend from him,
 “ that we have ordered to be observed towards the male lines
 “ which descend from us; that is, that all the males, in the
 “ male line, shall succeed to the throne in preference to all
 “ others, the one after the other, and one line after the other,
 “ so that the eldest shall always be preferred to the youngest;
 “ and to say as much as possible in a few words, the male issue
 “ of a male shall be preferred to the female issue of a male, and
 “ the female issue of a male shall be preferred to the male and
 “ female issue of a female: in every other respect the rules before-
 “ mentioned shall be always followed.” Thirty-seventhly,
 “ Moreover it is to the daughters, and their children and grand-
 “ children, in the proper descent, that the succession to the
 “ crown belongs; the husbands of such daughters shall not have
 “ any right to it, nor shall they have any part of the monar-
 “ chical government of these kingdoms; and, notwithstanding

“ the authority that they may enjoy in their proper states, nevertheless, when they shall be in these kingdoms, they shall not claim any power to themselves; and they shall cede the place of honour to the hereditary queen.” Thirty-eighthly, “ A child that is in the womb of his mother shall be counted among the children and grandchildren; so that, although he shall be born after the death of his father, he shall take his place among the others in the line of succession.” Thirty-ninthly, “ We do hope, by the blessing of God, that our royal hereditary house shall increase daily, and flourish for ever; but fearing that in future there shall arise any contests or errors about the age of those who claim the succession, occasioned by the great number of our descendent or collateral lines, or from the confusion which may arise between those lines, it is our will, and we do hereby expressly order, that as soon as any child shall be born in our family, whether it be a son or a daughter, the parents of the child shall immediately advise the king of his or her name, and the day of birth, if they would preserve to their children the right of succession to these kingdoms and provinces; and they should afterwards desire the king to order an act to be drawn up for his signing, to attest that they have acquitted themselves of their duty; of which a copy shall be preserved among the records of the kingdom; where likewise a genealogical table of our royal and hereditary house shall be preserved.” Fortiethly, “ All that we have said, in the foregoing articles, of the children and grandchildren of our descendents, shall be understood only of such children as are legitimate, and of no other; the sons and the daughters born of a legitimate marriage, descending from us in our royal hereditary line, are the only children or grandchildren of which we have spoken in this royal law.

“ We

“ We have flattered ourselves as much as human prudence is
 “ capable of doing, of having regulated and disposed of every
 “ thing in the best manner, and in the fashion which appeared
 “ to us to be the most proper to avoid every inconvenience, and
 “ to assure the peace and tranquillity of our subjects against all
 “ domestic troubles and dissensions. Nevertheless, as the designs
 “ of the wisest men are all in the hands of God, and seeing that
 “ notwithstanding the most prudent precautions, it is the supreme
 “ Being alone who can by his concurrence give a happy issue to
 “ all our dispositions, we recommend our royal hereditary house,
 “ our kingdoms and provinces, and all their inhabitants, to the
 “ protection of the Divine Providence through all ages, until
 “ they shall be no more. Given under our seal in our royal
 “ castle of Copenhagen, November 14, 1665.

“ Signed FREDERIC.”

This is an exact copy of the royal and fundamental law of
 Denmark, which, as long as this government exists, must re-
 main unalterable and irrevocable. I have already observed, that
 the great cause of the revolution in the reign of this prince was
 the aristocratical power of the nobility, which they used in the
 most shamefull and tyrannical manner, making their fellow crea-
 tures their most vile and abject slaves, and even insulting their
 king, when he did not come readily into their plan of oppression
 and tyranny. Those authors have been greatly mistaken, who
 have supposed that it was this revolution which lost the people
 their liberty; the greatest part of the inhabitants of this king-
 dom were in the most vile slavery, and groaned under the load
 of oppression for many ages before; it was the nobility only who
 were free, and who tyrannized over their fellow subjects: the
 Lutheran clergy, and the representatives of the people, were

counted as nothing in the assembly of the states: the two latter orders supposed that by augmenting the power of the crown, and destroying the aristocratic power of the nobles, they should regain their ancient liberties: but, alas! where they began to make those changes in the government, they seemed to have no idea of the consequences that would naturally result from them. As soon as Frederic was invested with the absolute sovereign power, it will be seen, from the above-mentioned royal law, that he took every method to establish himself in it, and to convey the same to his posterity for ever; but how much he endeavoured to merit the good opinion which his poor deluded and oppressed subjects had of his integrity, and to ease them of the heavy burden under which they had long laboured, will appear from the form of government which existed in Denmark after this revolution, and which exists there to this day.

It is true that the king after this revolution divested the nobility of many of the prerogatives which they had before enjoyed, and which were annexed afterwards to those of the crown; but he took no method to relieve those poor people, who had been the instruments of investing him with the sovereign power, but left them in the same state of slavery in which they were before, and in which they have remained to the present age: the nobility of those days, who were not sacrificed to the resentment of the court, had still power sufficient to keep all those poor people, who were so unhappy as to be born upon their lands, in the greatest slavery; and as there were now no states to redress their grievances, neither had they any means to make their cries reach the throne, to keep them curbed under the load of oppression: how much this has always been, and still is the case, will be demonstrated in the course of this and the following chapters.

After

After this revolution the king re-united in his person all the rights of the sovereign power; but as he could not exercise all by himself, he was obliged to entrust some part of the executive power to his subjects: the supreme court of judicature for the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway is holden in the royal palace at Copenhagen, of which the king is the nominal president. What they call the German provinces have likewise their supreme tribunal; which, for the duchy of Holstein, is holden at Gluckstadt; and for the duchy of Sleswic, in the town of that name. The particulars which regard the administration of justice will be hereafter set forth; at present I shall proceed to take notice of the more eminent rights of the sovereignty, and the manner in which the sovereign exercises them. The king, for the most part, decides in his council, the members of which are named and displaced at his will. It is in this council that the laws are proposed, discussed, and receive the royal authority; and that any great changes or establishments are proposed, and approved or rejected by the king: it is here likewise, or in the cabinet, where he grants privileges, and decides upon the explication of laws, their extension, or their restriction; and, in fact, it is here where the king expresses his will upon the most important affairs of his kingdoms. This method of expediting the most considerable affairs of the state in the king's council, supposing that it was as unalterable as the royal law before-mentioned, might be proper to give some degree of uniformity to the government, and to avoid many dangers into which the prince might be drawn by precipitation or surprize; and the more especially as all the affairs which are to be laid before the council must pass either through the Danish or German chancery, of which the first operation is to send back the demands or memorials to certain officers of the king, or to particulars, who are authorized,

authorized, either by their places, or by their interests, to contradict them. In each of these departments a council, upon the report of one its members, examines the titles, and the reasons produced on the one side and on the other, and gives the result of their opinion on them; which is added to the extract in writing of all the pieces which have any connections with the affair; and the whole is to be transcribed into a register, to be always as a pledge for the integrity of those who have made the report, and as a deposition of the motives which have operated to the resolution. If the affair has any concern with the general order of the kingdom, the attorney-general, who has a seat in the Danish chancery, must be consulted, and give his reasons in writing: at the head of each of these chanceries is a secretary of state, who presides in the council above-mentioned; and all those who compose these chanceries should be well instructed in the laws and regulations of the kingdom. This is the first channel through which the affairs that are to be presented to the king ought to pass, according to the regulations which have been for some time in use; it is here likewise that they undergo the first examination, and are prepared to be carried to the priory council, where they are discussed again before they are laid before the king. Moreover some of the kings, not content with having all the matters which were to be laid before them examined first in this manner, but to prevent any possibility of a surprize or of a mistake, have ordered all the other councils to confer with each other upon such matters, especially if such other councils have the least concern with them. It is to the chanceries that all persons are to address themselves, in all cases where the royal authority should immediately intervene, as when the explanation of a law is in question, a dispense from the obeying of particular laws, which is often given to favourites in this country,

cases

cases of privilege, the differences which arise between those who hold the crown lands, complaints between the magistrates or officers of towns, and in general all such affairs as do not come before the common courts of justice. The other departments which are established here for regulating the affairs of the kingdom, are the board of finances, of war, of admiralty, and of commerce; to which I should add likewise the board of treasury: but all these may be altered or changed as often as the king shall think proper to do so. The department of war, and as well that of admiralty, have each a council, where all matters which come before them are discussed, before they are presented to the king, by the secretaries of state who preside at those councils. The board of commerce and of general œconomy is an assembly who examine all such projects and propositions as tend to augment the commerce, to extend the navigation, and to increase the manufactures and agriculture of the kingdom: it is before this board that all those are heard who have any proposals to make which tend to promote these ends; and this is the channel through which their propositions are to be laid before the king. The provinces are governed by bailiffs, who are charged with the execution of the laws, and of the king's orders, with the inspection of the crown lands, and, as it is said, with the special protection of the farmers; but, in general, they are such protectors as the nobility were before the revolution in the year 1660, and as many of this order are to this day.

In this kingdom, as in many others, the king would be considered as present to administer justice in the supreme court of his kingdom. In ancient times, when kings were less charged with affairs, they regarded the administration of justice to their subjects as one of their principal functions; therefore the kings
of

of Denmark not only preside nominally in the sovereign court of justice, but they have a throne erected in it, towards which the lawyers always address their discourses in pleading, and the judges the same in giving their opinion. Every year the king is present at the opening of this court, and often gives the judges such instructions as he shall think proper. The decision of these judges is final in all civil actions; but no criminal sentence can be carried into execution till it is signed by the king.

The laws are very severe against those officers who are the depositaries of the power of the prince, and who do any injustice to their fellow subjects; the latter are hereby authorized and even invited to demand reparation for all the wrongs which have been done them by persons who are in authority, and to carry their complaints immediately to the foot of the throne, or before the common courts of justice: and I should likewise observe, that whenever there is an appeal from one court to another the inferior judge is ordered to appear before the superior, and to defend the sentence which he has given; and when any of those inferior judges are wanting in their duty, the superior judges are ordered by the laws to reprimand and fine them.

It might be concluded from these excellent regulations, that Denmark is the kingdom of all others where justice is administered in the greatest purity, and with the greatest impartiality; but, alas! the case is quite the contrary, a poor man can never have justice in this country against one of the nobility, or against one who is favoured by the court or by the minister: if the laws are so clearly in favour of the former, that the judges are ashamed to decide against them, the latter, through the favour of the minister, obtains an order from the king to stop all the law

law proceedings, or a dispensation from observing particular laws, and there the matter must rest.

The code of laws which is at present established in Denmark was published by Christian the Fifth, founded upon the code of Valdemar, and all the other codes which have since been published, and is nearly the same with that published in Norway: these laws are very just and clear; and if they had been impartially carried into execution, a great deal might be said in favour of this absolute monarchy.

The code of Danish laws is divided into six books; the first treats of the procedure of the courts of justice; the second of the ecclesiastical government; the third of offices and the different states of persons; the fourth of the maritime laws; the fifth of the different means to acquire property, and of contracts; and the sixth of crimes and their punishments.

First, there are several kinds of jurisdiction in this kingdom; namely, that of the king and of the lords, the jurisdiction ecclesiastic, the consistorial, and those of the military, and of the marine: the consistorial makes at present a part of the civil jurisdiction, for since the reformation marriage is become a civil contract, in which the ecclesiastics have no more jurisdiction than over any other temporal affairs: in fact, the bailiffs of the provinces, who are the king's officers, with some other assessors, whom they choose among the men of letters of the place, give judgment in each diocese in all matrimonial cases, and there is an appeal from their sentences to the supreme court of the kingdom. It is only in Zealand where the consistory is regularly established by law; and its members are the professors of the

university of Copenhagen : it is true, there are some ecclesiastics among them, but it is not as ecclesiastics that they are admitted. The great bailiff of the island is the president of this assembly, and the appeal from the sentence of this court is to the supreme court of the kingdom.

The civil jurisdiction, in all its extent, appertains to the king ; and it is only by particular concession that the lords of particular districts have the right to establish a judge in their respective villages ; which establishment must not only be confirmed by the king, but the courts are holden in his name ; and therefore, strictly speaking, there is no other jurisdiction but that of the king : there are three different degrees of jurisdiction ; the first in the towns, before a judge named by the king, which is called Bye-foged ; and, in the country also, before a judge named either by the king or by the lord of the district, which is called Herrots-foged, who pronounces sentence before eight farmers, who are witnesses and observers of his conduct. The appeal from the sentences given by the judges of the great towns is carried before the magistrates of their respective towns ; but the appeals which are made from the sentences given by the country judges, and the little towns, are to the provincial court, except in the jurisdictions of such counts and barons who are amenable only to the supreme tribunal. The provincial court is likewise composed of judges nominated by the king, who assemble every month for as long a time as is necessary to judge all the cases which come before them. It is from their judgment that there is an appeal to the supreme court, composed also of assessors named by the king, whose number is not fixed, but they ought never to be less than nine, not only that their sentence may be good in law, but even to make a court for the examination of any affair.

Some of them serve all the year, and others only during the months that they are hearing causes. The provincial judges and the assessors of the supreme court are paid by the king.

In Norway the appeal from the sentences given by the provincial courts, by the magistrates of the great towns, and by the great bailiffs and their assessors, in all matrimonial cases, is to a superior court which is held at Christiania, where if there is a viceroy he presides; but when there is no viceroy, the great bailiff of Aggerhus presides: this court is composed of fifteen assessors, of whom five at least ought to be present to enable the court to pass a legal sentence. The appeal from this superior court of the kingdom of Norway is made to the superior court of the two kingdoms which is held at Copenhagen: this is the supreme tribunal, to which all the other jurisdictions tend as to their center, and which judges, in the last resort of all the sentences that are given, in any matter whatever, and from what court soever they come, except the army, the navy, and the finances; for it must be observed, that the chamber of finances judges here exclusively of all other tribunals, and even supremely of all those contentious questions which arise about taxes, or about such engagements and contracts as are made for the king, and for his interests, in any matter that respects the finances: and in the second instance, in what regards confiscations, and in all contentious affairs concerning the customs.

All the counts and barons have their personal cases tried in the first instance before the supreme court: and all who are in the king's service, or who have received any title of honour, are judged, as long as they reside at Copenhagen, by a particular tribunal which is held in this capital, and which is called Hof-

rett; and the appeal from the sentences of this court is to the supreme court. All the king's inferior officers and his household are judged by a tribunal called Borg-rett; from which there is an appeal in the second instance to the Hof-rett. But the gentlemen, and those who by their employments or titles enjoy the same privileges, cannot be judged but by the supreme court in all cases which interest their honour or their lives. The professors of the university as well as the students are under the consistorial jurisdiction. Cases are very often taken out of the ordinary courts of law, and tried by commissioners who are named for that purpose: but this is rarely done, except one of the parties is some great person, or a favourite at court, and then it is always to be presumed that there is some clandestine dealing. Every suit at common law begins by a citation for the defendant to appear before the court to answer to the plaintiff's declaration, which is likewise there specified: the whole case is founded upon this citation, and therefore it should contain the whole demand of the plaintiff. The defendant must answer to it in writing; and then both parties produce their proofs and witnesses to the court to be examined and heard upon the contested facts; and when the respective writings appear to the court to be sufficient to unravel the affair, it is judged, and sentence is given without any pleadings. After the sentence is given, in the first instance, if either party thinks proper to appeal to the provincial court, it must be done within the space of six months, and the plaintiff must produce in writing the reasons for his appeal, which may be answered by his antagonist. If there is an appeal from the provincial court, it must be made to the supreme court within a year and six weeks after the sentence is given, if the action was laid in Denmark, or in eighteen months, if it was laid in Norway. This is the only tribunal where
lawyers

lawyers are admitted to plead the causes of their clients: in all the other courts they proceed as they do in Germany, by laying their proofs before the court in writing.

Execution is immediately given upon the goods and person of him who is condemned in the last instance, and the expences of the suit are regulated by the judges.

Criminal cases are treated here much in the same form with those of a civil nature; those in whose jurisdiction the crime was committed name a lawyer to prosecute the cause, as well as give at the same time to the accused another lawyer to defend him; but if the latter is not satisfied, he may have another by applying directly to the king for that purpose: the two lawyers being named, the case is carried on and judged in the first instance; from which an appeal is made, first to the provincial and afterwards to the supreme court, except the criminal will renounce his privilege; for in every instance the proper officer is obliged to read the sentence to him, so that he may enjoy the benefit of the appeal; even if he should renounce this privilege, the appeal must be carried to the provincial court when he is condemned to lose his life, or to be publicly whipped. No sentence of death can be executed in this kingdom which has not had the approbation of the king. Heretofore the torture was much in use in Denmark in criminal cases, but by the code at present established in this kingdom this abominable practice ought to be suppressed; and in the first article of the nineteenth chapter of the first book we find the following remarkable clause: “No person shall be
“ confined in a prison, or deprived of his liberty, except he has
“ been surprized or taken in doing any crime which will subject
“ him to a capital or corporal punishment, or that he has made
“ a con-

“ a confession before a court of justice of having committed the
“ said crime, or been condemned as having been guilty of it
“ by a court of law : in every other respect, a man who is ac-
“ cused before a court of justice may give bail for his appearance,
“ and come to and return from the court freely, and enjoy all
“ the liberty which is necessary to defend himself.” Undoubtedly
the Danish writers would have great reason to extol the modera-
tion of their legislator, and of their laws, were they as well observed
and executed as they are written in their law books. But when
it is considered that one sentence from the king is sufficient to
annihilate all their boasted good laws, and in their place to sub-
stitute the greatest tyranny and oppression ; when it is considered
that the dispensations which this monarch gives to his ministers
and favourites to set them above the laws, and thereby to carry
on all kinds of oppression with impunity ; when it is considered
that a great number of persons, and among them the queen,
were lately confined in the different prisons of the kingdom, and
threatened with the torture, contrary to all the laws then exist-
ing in Denmark, without having been convicted of any crime,
and only upon the information of their most implacable enemies,
an information no less absurd than it was wicked, and calculated
only to destroy the queen and her children, who had long been
the objects of their envy : I say, when all these things are well
considered, I believe every reasonable person will agree with me
in saying, that all these courts of law, and specious regulations in
Denmark, are calculated only to amuse the world, and as a finesse
to cover the oppression and tyranny which are daily practised
upon all the lower classes of people, and from which the most
innocent persons are not exempt, when they have not a powerfull
protection at court.

The

The second book of the Danish code comprehends the ecclesiastical laws: the Lutheran religion is the only one which is authorized by the laws of the country; but most other sects of the Christian religion are tolerated at present: the king exercises the right of supremacy in his kingdoms; he gives order, in the last instance, for every thing that concerns the government of the church and the form of exterior worship; he appoints all the bishops, and disposes of a great number of benefices which are in his gift. The Lutheran church government appears to be a medium between the English hierarchy and the discipline of the Calvinist church: the bishops act only as superintendents, whose authority extends no farther than to confer the sacred orders, and to keep the inferior clergy to their duty; they are deprived of all temporal jurisdiction, and they, in fact, have no other rights than what are necessary to preserve good order and decency in the church, and to advance the progress of religion: they confer the sacred orders, but the candidates are not admitted to present themselves before the bishops till they have undergone a public examination before the professors of theology in the university of Copenhagen: the bishops have the right of inspection over all the clergy of their respective dioceses, whom they ought to visit at least once every three years; and in this visit they are also to examine the state of the public schools, receive the accounts of the money which is ordered for the support of the poor, and see that this money is faithfully administered; they are to take care that the churches are properly supported; that the conduct of the parochial clergy is edifying, and when otherwise, to exhort and reprimand them, and to punish them by fines and suspension if it is necessary; but their power goes no farther than this, and even in such cases it is submitted to that of the supreme court of the kingdom. But fearing that
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those of the clergy, who should be at some distance from the eyes of the bishops, should assume a kind of independence, and neglect their duty, to remedy this inconveniency, every bishop has in his diocese other ecclesiastics who represent them: every diocese is divided into several districts, each district containing a certain number of parishes, for the superintendence of which there is an archdeacon, or a provost, who is invested with all the power of the bishop, and who decides in every thing just as if the bishop was there himself: these archdeacons, or provosts, are elected by the plurality of voices of the rectors of every parish in the district, are their judges in the first instance, and in conjunction with two assessors, which they choose themselves from among the clergy of their district, take cognizance of all the faults which the parochial clergy commit in the exercise of their charge: these archdeacons are likewise the guardians of the public schools, and of the money which is given for the maintenance of the poor; and they take care that the churches are properly supported. Twice a year they are to form a meeting to deliberate upon the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese; the bishop is the president of this assembly, and the great bailiff attends there likewise on the part of the king: this assembly forms the second instance of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and give sentence upon all those faults which the ecclesiastics commit in the exercise of their functions, except those of the bishops, who in all criminal cases must be judged by the supreme court, where, in cases of this kind, two bishops have seats.

If there is an appeal from the sentences of the second instance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it is to the supreme tribunal of the kingdom, which judges of all affairs, both ecclesiastical and civil, in the last instance. Every archdeacon must make known to the

parochial clergy of his district all that has been resolved in this general assembly of the bishopric : moreover the ecclesiastical law orders, that there shall be an assembly formed in every parish composed of the elders of the church, of which the rector is the president, and this assembly is ordered to watch over the manners of the people, and to correct those disorders which the laws do not punish, but which are not the less prejudicial to society : this assembly may likewise condemn those who resist its authority to pay a fine, and even after having taken the advice of the bishop and the archdeacon upon it, may proceed to excommunicate the person so resisting ; but there is always an appeal from this ecclesiastical sentence to the supreme court. All the parochial clergy are presented to their benefices by the king, by the lords of the manors in which the parishes are situated, and sometimes by private persons who have acquired the right of presentation. When Denmark adopted the reformation, the king alienated that part of the tenths which appertained to the churches in favour of those who would purchase it ; upon condition, however, that the buyers engaged to keep the respective churches in proper repair, and at the same time conferred upon them the right of naming the clergy to the vacant benefices : when therefore a benefice is vacant, the bishop of the diocese, if it be in the king's gift, gives advice of it to his majesty, and at the same time mentions the different candidates for the place, each of whom sends his petition to the king ; after which the secretary of state for the interior affairs of the kingdom lays the extract of all these pieces before the king, who makes his choice : when this nomination, or that of the patron, who is obliged to notify it to the chancery, is made, the archbishop of the district orders him who has been nominated to preach before the inhabitants of his parish ; and, after this act, they are authorized to

make any objections to him, provided that they are of such a nature that they can be proved in a court of justice; and through the means of the bishop the affair is carried before the king, who decides upon the opposition which is formed: but if the contest is between the patron and the parishioners, the affair must be decided by the ordinary course of justice. On the contrary, if the candidate is approved by the parishioners, he has nothing to do but to present himself before the bishop, who is to examine him; and if he finds him capable, to confer orders upon him, for no clergyman is ordained in this country before he is nominated to a benefice.

The revenues of the ecclesiastics are proportioned to the rank they have in the state: they have a decent maintenance, but no superfluity. The bishops, as well as the inferior clergy, draw their principal revenue from the produce of the tenths, which are divided into three parts, of which one belongs to the king, another to the church, and the third is appropriated to the support of the clergy: out of that part which belongs to the king the bishops receive their salaries; besides the one-third part of the tenths, the parochial clergy receive of every parishioner; on the three great feasts of the year, certain offerings, more or less in proportion to the rank of the giver; but the meanest person is obliged to give something: these offerings, and what they receive for marrying and baptizing, make up the principal revenue of the clergy in the towns. The widows of all the parochial clergy are authorized by the law to receive the one-eighth part of the revenue which their husbands enjoyed; moreover the clergy in every diocese have a fund for the widows of ecclesiastics, from whence they draw a yearly revenue, proportionable to the sums that their husbands have paid into this fund during their lives.

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Upon the whole, I cannot help observing that the ecclesiastical establishments of Denmark, and the laws respecting them, are upon a very good footing; and as far as I have heard, the latter are very justly and impartially administered.

The third book of this code treats of the states of the different persons who form a society, particularly of the rights of those who are constituted in office and authority, and of the administration of the police in the towns. I have already observed, that the provinces are governed by certain officers of the king who are called Great Bailiffs, each of whom has all the towns in the province under his authority; but each of these towns has a council which regulates the police, and administers justice in the second instance: it is this council also which regulates the proportion which every inhabitant must pay to the public taxes; but if any person thinks himself oppressed by their decisions, he may appeal to a superior court: however, as this matter will be more particularly treated in another place, I shall at present proceed to give an account of the different orders of persons who form this community. Those who live in a free country cannot form an idea of the oppression and tyranny which are practised over the poor farmers in this kingdom: many authors who have treated of the feudal tenures have supposed that the origin of the state of slavery and oppression in which the poor farmers of this and some other northern kingdoms are involved at present, was in these tenures, but they have been greatly deceived. It has been clearly proved in the foregoing chapter, that all the rights and prerogatives which the ancient nobility and Romish clergy in Denmark assumed over the farmers and common people, particularly over those who were born upon their lands, were so many extorted concessions from the king, which he had no right

to grant, nor they to receive; and consequently, as they were not authorized by any divine or human law, they must be regarded as barbarous and tyrannical in those days; but I do not know in what light we are to look upon such practices in this enlightened age. Before the revolution in 1660, the nobility claimed the exemption not only from paying the tenths and most of the other public taxes, all the weight of which they threw upon the poor farmers, whom they also forced to cultivate their lands without receiving any pay, but they endeavoured to set themselves above the laws, and to annex the prerogatives of an absolute sovereign to every member of their order. They had also power and credit enough to cause certain honorary rights and privileges to be annexed to their lands, and to have a law passed, that no person who was not of their order, should possess the said lands and privileges.

But as this revolution was made without any violence, it produced very little change in the fortune of the nobles, or in the situation of the poor farmers. The king bent his whole attention to secure himself and family in the possession of the absolute power, but took no thought about relieving the bulk of the people from the oppression under which they had so long groaned: it is true he annexed to the crown several of the immunities and prerogatives which the nobles had before usurped and enjoyed; but they continued to be exempt from the payment of tithes, and on condition that they cultivated a certain quantity of waste land every year, and possessed otherwise about 1200 acres of land each person, which was cultivated by their farmers, they were likewise declared to be exempt from all kinds of public taxes, which were to be paid by their farmers: before this time their farmers were likewise exempted

empted from paying almost all the public taxes; but the other members of the community made such loud complaints against these exemptions, that the king was obliged to regulate them in this manner. These were the lands which served for the residence of the nobility before the year 1660; but which by the law which took place at that æra should be either joined to their respective castles, or at least be situated within two leagues of them; and of which, by the same law, the number was ascertained and registered. Since this revolution a second kind of noble estates have been erected, which enjoy all the exemptions and privileges with the former, except that of paying tithes, which could not be granted but at the expence of the church. At present, as all persons who possess certain titles are admitted to possess these lands as well as the nobility, I shall call them privileged lands, and the others, lands that are not privileged: this last kind comprehends generally all such lands as do not exempt the proprietor from any of the common impositions and taxes, although he cultivates yearly a certain quantity of land which has never before been tilled. The proprietors of these privileged lands, if we except the counts and barons, have the privilege of holding courts of justice in their lands only by the particular concession of the king, to whom all kinds of jurisdiction appertains: and even those lords of privileged lands, in whose favour he divests himself of the right of judging, in the first instance, are obliged to obtain from him the judges whom they appoint, and to carry on every suit in his name. Nevertheless every lord of a manor, as such, has a considerable jurisdiction over the farmers who live upon his manor, which is generally employed to their disadvantage, and which is one of the great sources of all the oppression which this useful part of the community labours under: if one of these farmers dies, for instance,

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all his effects fall into the hands of his lord, who accounts with his successor in what manner he thinks proper: this first degree of jurisdiction is exercised by all those who are possessed of manors, whether they are noble or not; but it is only those who possess the privileged manors who have the right of nominating a judge, or of conferring an ecclesiastical benefice. Every lord of a manor, who is noble, may hunt not only in his own lands, but likewise in those which he possesses in common with others, to the distance of eight English miles from his habitation; whereas the possessor of a manor, who is not noble, cannot hunt out of the limits of his own possessions. The proprietors of manors possess almost all the landed property within their respective manors; I say almost all the landed property, for there are some farmers who have purchased their freedom, and a freehold in their farms; and these are called the free farmers: others again have property in their farms, very much like the ancient copyhold tenure in England, and pay a fine, and a yearly rent to the lord.

The other farmers are only yearly tenants on the farms which they cultivate, and pay more or less annually, according as they make their agreement, either in money, or, which is oftener the case, as these people are kept very poor, and are obliged to reside upon the manor, in cattle or grain. But this is not the only obligation which they owe to their lord, who has generally a considerable part of his manor that he cultivates for himself; and his farmers are obliged to cultivate, at their own expence, this part of their lord's lands, by a particular privilege which he has to determine at his discretion what expence each farmer shall be at yearly for this purpose: this is another source of the oppression under which the farmers of this kingdom labour. If a lord

sees that one of his farmers is industrious, that the farm is in very good order, and that there is an appearance of its producing great crops, the poor man is immediately removed from this farm to one which is sterile, dry, and uncultivated; and if this well-conditioned farm is near the mansion-house, the lord takes it into his own hand; if otherwise, he disposes of it to one of his favourites. Those poor people therefore, seeing that what they labour hard for is snatched away from them by an oppressive power, and that, notwithstanding all their industry, they cannot expect any thing more than their homely food and coarse raiment, literally follow the scripture rule, and take no thought for the morrow; but order it so that their labour shall procure them little more than their common necessaries. The farmer generally makes a contract with his lord for holding the farm during his life, upon paying him a certain sum of money, or its value in cattle, when he takes possession of it; but the lord has always a clause in the contract, which authorizes him to take the farm into his own possession whenever he thinks proper: if the farmer dies, it is stipulated that his widow shall hold the farm upon the same footing as long as she remains a widow; but if the lord makes use of the before-mentioned clause, and takes the farm into his own hands, he is obliged to maintain the children which the farmer has left.

Before the reign of Frederic the Fourth the Danish farmers were in a state of slavery equal to that of the negroes in the West Indies; they were actually attached to their farms, and, though Christians, were bought and sold with them like the slaves in the American plantations: but this prince, sensible of the glory of commanding freemen, resolved to abolish this state of servitude into which the insufferable wickedness and tyranny of the nobility,

nobility, and of the Romish clergy, had brought their fellow subjects, contrary to all laws both human and divine. It was for this purpose that Frederic published that celebrated law of the 21st of February 1702, by which he ordered, that the farmers should be no longer attached to their farms in his states; but the nobility and landholders, to prevent this law from having the wished for effect, persuaded the king, when they saw that he was determined to publish it, that if he did not take the greatest precaution, the farmers, seduced by their new liberty, would abandon the cultivation of their farms, and become idle; and therefore to keep them still in dependence on their lords, but under the pretence of increasing the forces of the state by a national militia, he published a law of the 21st of February 1701, and another of the 30th of December 1702, in which it is ordered, that all the boys who should be born upon an estate should be registered in the rolls of the militia, from the age of fourteen to the age of thirty-five; and that they should not quit their habitation where the service of the state required them: this was in fact setting them loose with one hand, and binding them fast with the other: however, as some of the oppressed farmers took advantage of the before-mentioned laws to quit their farms, after they had passed the age of thirty-five, and before their children were arrived to the age of fourteen, the nobility persuaded the king, in the year 1742, to publish a new law, which made the time of being enrolled in the militia to begin at the age of nine years, and to finish only at forty; and from that moment, as soldiers, they were obliged not to quit the land which they inhabited. From among this multitude of men of all ages, every landholder who is proprietor of a certain tract containing about four hundred acres of land, furnishes one soldier for the militia, and the expence of half a man for the corps

de reserve: the difference between them is, that the former is clothed as a soldier, and the other is not. I shall more at large upon the constitution of the militia, when I come to treat of the military forces of the kingdom. The lord of the manor is authorized by these laws to order either of his farmers whom he shall think proper to be a soldier, to re-claim him afterwards, and substitute another in his place, if he was not satisfied with the conduct of the latter; and to enroll in the king's troops any farmer, who, after having finished the number of years stipulated for his service in the militia, would not take a farm of him; and moreover to make a farmer serve in the militia till the age of forty-five, whom he had deprived of one farm, as before-mentioned, if he should neglect to cultivate another on which he had placed him. I shall not make any more reflections upon the miserable situation of these poor unhappy people, as I think enough has been said to make any person, who has sentiments of humanity, shed a tear to see human nature so oppressed. But the nobility and proprietors of manors in this kingdom are continually complaining that their lands are uncultivated, that their farmers are idle, and that the population of the country diminishes daily. Indeed, if the case had been otherwise, I should think that these poor people had lost all sense of feeling. It is said, that his present majesty, Christian the Seventh, when he was in England, was so struck with the freedom and the flourishing situation in which he saw the farmers of this country, that when he returned into Denmark he resolved to remove the oppression under which this order of his subjects had so long laboured; and accordingly in the year 1769, a law was published for this purpose: but, alas! it was made so indeterminate by the councils of the nobility, that it has had no more effect than that of his ancestor Frederic the Fourth.

The advocates for the proceedings of the nobility on the contrary observe, that “considering the abuse that an order, naturally ignorant and brutal, would make of their liberty, the severity which is employed to keep these people dependent upon their lords is justifiable, especially as the latter cannot make any bad use of their authority.” But as I am determined to enter the lists with great impartiality, I shall proceed to examine what support the poor farmers have to prevent their lords from making a bad use of their authority. It is true, one of the principal functions of the great bailiff of the province is, to hinder the farmers from being oppressed; and every farmer, who thinks himself ill used, has a right to address himself to the said bailiff; and if he cannot, by his good offices, procure him the justice which he demands, he is obliged to procure him a lawyer to plead his case before all the tribunals gratis: the bailiffs in general are those who are interested in oppressing the farmers, or at least their family, and the lawyers are intirely dependent upon them. It is no less true, that by the code of Danish laws no farmer should be dispossessed of his farm, except he consents to it, but by the sentence of a court of justice; from which he may appeal to the superior tribunals.

It is by the hand of justice also, says this code, that the lord of a manor shall be authorized to inflict any corporal punishment of what nature soever, upon one of his farmers, who has the right of appealing to the supreme court from all the sentences which are given against him: and moreover every lord of a manor is accountable to the king for every one of his farmers. These regulations may appear very just and equitable upon the law-books, but how effectual they are to restrain the tyranny and oppression of the nobility, and to support the distressed farmers, will

will appear from the following remarkable case which happened in the latter part of the reign of his late majesty Frederic the Fifth.

Count Moltke having exercised several acts of oppression upon some farmers who lived on and near to his estate, they were so shocked at the daring tyranny of this oppressor, that they united to attack him in the courts of law, for reparation of the injuries which he had done them; but they soon found that they had to do with a powerful antagonist, who defeated all their schemes, and that they were not to expect any justice from that quarter; and therefore they resolved to go in a body to Copenhagen, throw themselves at the king's feet, and demand justice of him. The king heard their complaints, and then told them that count Moltke, whom I should have observed was then a great favourite at court, would do them justice: and thus was those poor oppressed people obliged to return again into their own country, and bewail their unhappy fate.

The kingdom of Norway, which was meant to be oppressed and reduced absolutely to a state of slavery by the ancient Danish nobility, is now in a much better situation than that of Denmark: there are very few nobility in this kingdom, and those who are actually in possession of the privileged manors, have very little authority over their farmers, who are now become proprietors of their farms by paying only a small fee-farm rent to the lords of the manors: and all the other farmers in Norway are absolute proprietors of their farms, enjoy with them the rights of hunting and fishing, and are amenable to no other jurisdiction but that of the sovereign. All the farmers in Norway hold their lands by a title which is not much unlike an entail-general in

England. From the father the land descends to the eldest son of the family, without being divided; and afterwards to the other sons, and so to the nearest relations; the sons always excluding the daughters, and the eldest son excluding the youngest son. But the eldest son who inherits his father's estate is obliged to pay a yearly revenue to each of his brothers and sisters: and if the father died possessed of many estates or farms, the eldest of his children takes the principal, and his brothers and sisters divide the others among them. This is not strictly speaking an entail, because every proprietor may sell his lands whenever he thinks proper; but then this sale may be set aside: the heir at law of an estate which has been sold in this manner, has a right to reclaim the estate for twenty years after such sale; but then he must declare his intention immediately after the sale, and reimburse the money that it was sold for before the expiration of the twenty years. It is true, that this prerogative tends to preserve the landed property in families; but at the same time it greatly hinders the cultivation and improvement of the land.

In all the great towns in Denmark and Norway there is an excellent regulation which is exercised by a certain number of men, who are chosen by the magistrates from among the principal citizens, to watch over the education of children, and to take care that guardians administer properly the revenues and property of their pupils: the law authorizes them in the most express terms to dispose of such children as are neglected by their parents, and to put them to some useful profession, and even permits them to reimburse themselves out of the property of their fathers, for all the expences which they have been at on account of these children, and this by immediate execution, without any formal suit at law: but when such parents are themselves in a
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state of indigence, the law orders this reimbursement to be made by the charitable institutions: the law ordains likewise that an exact account of the administration of the property of wards or pupils shall be given to the members of this society, who are ordered to watch over it continually; and that if any bad use is made of it through their negligence, they shall be answerable for it: but this is not the only precaution which the laws of Denmark have ordered to secure the property of children and minors: the magistrates of every town are likewise obliged to watch over the administration of these public guardians, and to receive their accounts, or otherwise to be answerable for the consequences; and to place the property of such children or minors in security from the moment that it may be in danger; the law orders all those who are in the house of a man who dies, and leaves his children minors, to inform the magistrates immediately of his death, under the penalty of paying a very large fine: the same thing is likewise observed when either of the natural heirs is absent, or a minor. The laws of this kingdom do not permit a man to appoint guardians to his children by his testament, the nearest relation is the legal guardian; but his conduct is always subject to the inspection of the magistrates as aforesaid; and when this relation is not in a situation to take this charge upon himself, then the magistrates or the judge must appoint a guardian.

The women in this country are always under a kind of guardianship; when they are married, their husbands are their guardians, and when they are widows, they have a curator who directs their affairs.

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The Fourth book of the Danish code of laws contains the laws and regulations respecting the marine; which, as they are very different from all others that I have ever seen, and in many respects too severe and unjust, I shall be obliged to give a brief extract of them.

All the obligations of the proprietors of ships, of captains, merchants, and seamen, are, it is true, founded principally upon the engagements which they make between themselves: but the legislator, which, they say, is charged with combining the interests of navigation and of commerce, has an unbounded liberty to make what modifications and restrictions shall be thought proper upon these important objects; and therefore the laws of this country order, that the captains of merchants ships shall be permitted to leave such seamen as are seditious in foreign parts, even the most remote from their own habitation; that those seamen who shall abandon the ship when she is wrecked, or when she shall be attacked by pirates, shall be punished with death; and that the same punishment shall be inflicted upon such pilots as by their obstinacy shall have been the cause of the loss of the ship, if they have not property sufficient to make good the damages. It is always to be presumed, that when a seamen engages with a captain to make a voyage with him into a remote part of the globe, the former supposes that the latter will bring him again to his own habitation: if he behaves ill upon the voyage, the captain should be permitted to confine him; and when he returned, the police should be authorized to inflict a punishment upon him adequate to the offence: but to give such a power to, it may be, a capricious captain, as may be the means of destroying an useful subject, and a master of a family, and this for a trifling offence, is against all good policy, and should never be

be suffered in any well-regulated government: the punishing seamen with death for leaving their ship, when she is attacked by pirates, or when she is wrecked, and this without any restriction or limitation whatever, is contrary to the laws of nature; because every man who is attacked with such barbarous enemies, or who is in danger of perishing by the violence of the sea, will naturally endeavour to save himself as soon as possible. The punishing a pilot likewise with death because he erred in his judgment, is, I think, by much too severe; for it cannot be supposed that he wilfully caused the ship to be lost, as no man would run the risk of losing his own life for the sake of destroying a ship; for where there is a loss of a ship, the lives of those who are in her are generally in the greatest danger.

These laws ordain also, that neither the officers nor the common seamen shall enter upon any kind of gaming, when they are at sea.

Under pretence of making the interest of the seamen subordinate to that of commerce in general, the legislator of this country has given the captain of a merchant ship, for instance, a power to break any contract or convention which he has made with his seamen: if the captain has made a contract with his men to go a voyage to some part in the Mediterranean, and afterwards the merchants or the captain find that he would make a much greater advantage of his cargo in the West Indies, then he is authorized to break the contract which he made with his men, and they are obliged to make the voyage with him to the place where he thinks he shall sell his cargo to the greatest advantage.

The Danish legislator undoubtedly imagined that this was a very political law, but I own it does not strike me in that light: it must be observed, that the seamen's wages in Denmark are very low, and when these poor men are treated with this rigour, I had almost said tyrannically, will not that always be a sufficient motive to make them quit their native country and enter into foreign services? This has hitherto been much the case in Denmark, and I cannot conceive that there are any men in this situation of life who would not prefer freedom to slavery, and large wages to small.

When a captain of a merchant ship is on a voyage in any foreign country, and is in want of money, he is authorized by the law to sell any part of the cargo, which is entrusted to him, to supply his wants; and even to make a reasonable allowance for the freight. When two ships at sea run against each other, without its being the fault of those who conduct them, and any damage is sustained, both are to pay equal shares of the loss. When any part of a ship's cargo is damaged by an accident at sea, the laws ordain that the whole cargo shall be answerable for this loss, and even the ship herself, if it was for her preservation that the loss was sustained.

In former ages all the ships that were driven ashore upon the Danish coasts were immediately robbed and plundered, and even the nobility and Romish bishops, whose lands were situated upon the sea shore, as has been already observed, made a considerable revenue from this barbarous custom. Christian the Second made a very good law against this abominable practice, but the evil was so rooted, and those who practised it were become so powerful, that it cost him his crown and liberty. However,

after the Romish clergy and the nobility were humbled, the successors of that unhappy prince established this excellent law, which cost its author so dear, and which ordained that the right of property was not annihilated by an accident which should rather have made it more respectable. This law, as hath been before observed, ordered that all the effects of a ship that was wrecked should be saved, and deposited in a secure place, to be restored, after deducting the expence of salvage, to the owners, if they should demand them within a year and a day: but if none of the owners should claim their property within the time limited, after deducting the salvage, the rest should be divided between the king and those who saved the effects. This law prevented, in some measure, the robbing and plundering of ships which were wrecked upon these coasts; but Frederic the Fourth has still more efficaciously provided against this abominable practice, by an edict which he published on the twenty-first of March 1705: this law further adds, that whoever shall appropriate to himself any part of the effects of a ship which was wrecked upon the sea coasts of this kingdom, shall immediately be hanged as a felon, if the value of such effects shall exceed fifty marks; and that all who shall reside within two leagues of the place where the ship was wrecked, shall be answerable for all the depredations which may be committed, if the authors thereof cannot be discovered.

With respect to what regards the insurance of ships and merchandizes, the laws permit the merchants to secure themselves in the best manner they can, ordering only that the contract of insurance shall be written upon stamped paper, and registered; that nine-tenths only of the merchandizes shall be insured; and that no insurance shall be valid which is made after certain

advice is received of the loss of the ship. The premium that is given for the insurance should be paid immediately after signing the contract; and, if the ship be lost, the sum insured may be demanded within three months after proper proofs and certificates have been presented to the insurers, to shew that the loss has actually been sustained. But when no written account can be obtained, a ship which is only gone a voyage to some part of Europe is presumed to be lost, if no news is heard of her in the course of a year; and if she is sailed to any other part of the world, in the course of two years.

Captains of ships are often obliged to borrow money in foreign countries, where they have no credit nor any merchandize to procure it; therefore the laws of Denmark permit them to mortgage their respective ships for the loan of such money, in order to pay it as soon as they shall arrive at the place they are bound; they are likewise permitted to mortgage any part of the cargo of the ship in the same manner; but, if the ship is lost during the voyage, the lender cannot bring any action for the recovery of the debt.

If the captains of two ships enter into an engagement for sailing together for their mutual support against a common enemy, neither of them is then permitted to separate from his companion, under the penalty of paying all the damages which the latter may sustain: if they make any capture while they are under this contract, the profits thereof shall be equally divided between them. If a ship of their own nation is retaken by them from the enemy, she becomes their property, provided she has been twenty-four hours in the enemy's hands; if not, the prize is divided between the first proprietor and those who recovered her

her from the enemy: in most other particulars the Danish marine laws are nearly the same with those of England.

The fifth book of the Danish code contains the nature of contracts, of successions, of the rights annexed to real and personal property, and the different means of acquiring such property. This part of the Danish laws is very simple, although clear and distinct: we find here very few formalities, which, in fact, are nothing more than so many precautions against fraud. The signing only of the contracting parties, in the presence of two witnesses, is sufficient to form the most authentic obligation. We do not find in any part of this book laws which were only calculated to assure the execution of other laws: the contracting parties are at liberty to act as they shall think proper, where the legislator had not very particular reasons for restraining them. There is no kind of contract made in this kingdom of any consequence which is not registered in a court of justice, particularly mortgages of real property, which are declared to be null without this formality. A man who denies his having borrowed any thing, received it as a pledge, or who would appropriate to his own use a thing which he has borrowed, and is convicted of it, is declared infamous, and loses all the rights of a citizen. He who would mortgage any thing which does not belong to him, or who would mortgage the same thing twice for the full value of it, or who would sell any thing which he has already engaged, is punished in the same manner.

He who finds any thing that has been lost, is obliged to publish it in the church of the parish, and to advise the judge of it, under the penalty of being declared guilty of a robbery: when there is a sentence given against a man in the supreme court of justice,

justice, or even when there is only a citation issued out from that court against him, he has no longer the power even to mortgage any part of his property.

I have already observed, that the Danish laws restrain in many cases, I think unnecessarily, the liberty of particulars, but in none more than that which regards successions. The liberty of disposing of our property is certainly a part of the law of nature, for nothing can be more natural than the exercise of this power. In Denmark no person can succeed to the property of another, but by the limited path which the civil law has prescribed; except the king, by a particular privilege, confers the power of making a testament upon any individual, above what the law permits. It is said, that the king seldom refuses permission to make a testament to any individual when there are no children; but when there is an issue, this permission cannot be obtained. Every civil law, which is contrary to the laws of nature, is vicious in itself, and contrary to good policy. To prevent individuals from disposing of their goods is very impolitic in a commercial state; for this liberty is one of the greatest spurs to industry. As the regulation of successions in this kingdom depends in some measure upon the laws under which marriages are contracted, it will be necessary that I should first point out the most remarkable parts of those laws: as soon as a man and a woman are married, all their goods and interests are in common; and any particular convention which is contrary to this general regulation will be null in itself, except that it is confirmed by the king: and this is the reason why there are very few marriage contracts in Denmark, but among people of the first distinction and fortune, where there is a necessity of making a great number of arrangements: the laws permit the husband to give his wife a certain sum of money, by a marriage contract, which is to take place after his death; but
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he can make no use of it except he otherwise leaves sufficient to pay all his debts: this donation must not exceed 2000 Danish rixdollars, or 400 pounds English, even among the nobility and privileged persons: upon this principle of the husband and the wife having their property in common, the legislature has regulated their succession. It is ordained, that the survivor shall take the one half of their joint fortunes, and the other half shall be divided among their children; of which the said survivor shall moreover take a child's portion: but in case of a second marriage, this child's portion must be restored to the children. Where there are no children, the survivor has the yearly revenue of their joint fortunes, or if it is thought proper, may take his own fortune, and the quarter part of what appertained to the deceased. The law likewise permits the husband and wife, who have not any children, to dispose of the half of their property as they shall think proper; and even of the whole, if it be for pious uses. The Danish laws greatly favour the donation of pious legacies, so that if the husband and wife have no children, they may dispose of the half of their property to this use: this is a part of the ancient laws of Valdemar, which was formed at a time when the Roman Catholic clergy disposed of every thing in this kingdom; but I am very much surprized that this part of the code has not since been corrected. The children succeed to the fortunes of their parents in the following manner; a son has a double portion to that of a daughter, and has the preference to take any manor or freehold which is in the succession; and with this reservation in favour of the sons, the property of the father and mother is divided among all their children. The grandsons are received by right of representation, which indeed extends to all the descendants: if there are no descendants, the father succeeds alone: in default of the father, the
mother

mother succeeds conjointly with the brothers and sisters, and their posterity: afterwards the ascendants and the collateral lines are admitted. The right of representation always takes place so long as there are on one part near relations, and on the other children or the descendants of those who are in the same degree, as the brothers and the nephews, or the nephews sons, of the deceased. The law makes no distinction from which side the property comes, but admits the paternal and maternal line to partake equally of the succession, preferring always those who are in the nearest degree. If any person has an estate in freehold lands of about 2400 acres, he may fix it by a special entail in his family, from generation to generation, in what manner and with what conditions he shall think proper; but he cannot entail this estate in the manner before described, while it is charged with any debt, or while any other person has any legal pretensions upon it: undoubtedly this regulation is very conformable to the spirit of a monarchical government, which ought always to favour what tends properly to support the order of the nobility, which enters so essentially into the composition of this government. The laws likewise permit all those who are possessed of freehold lands to divide such lands among their children in such a manner, that one of their sons shall have double the portion of the others; and if they have no sons, they may make the same regulations among their daughters. The many restrictions which the laws have laid upon the natural liberty of the subjects, with regard to successions, and contracts of marriage; the practice of registering every thing of consequence in the courts of justice; the prescription which takes place in this country, and which, at the end of twenty years, annuls all kinds of obligations, and confers the most authentic title; the attention of the legislature to prevent, as much as possible, the differences which

may arise between the possessors of undivided lands; as for instance, when two particulars possess in the same estate, one the rights of the manor, and the other the farm, the law authorizes the former to compel the other to sell him his right; and if he does not demand it in a certain time, the latter may compel the former to sell him his rights: when many possessors have a freehold estate in common, he who has the greatest right may compel the others to let their parts to him for a yearly rent: I say all those restrictions and regulations prevent, it is true, a great number of law-suits, but they are faulty, arbitrary, and in many respects contrary to the natural rights of mankind; justice is forced to cede to oppression; and the weak must give way to the tyranny of the strong: for instance, when the rights of the manor are in the hands of some great person, and the farms are in the hands of the farmers, why should the latter, who are not perhaps in a situation to buy the rights of the former, be obliged to give up what they have to support their families, and to be turned out of their houses and home, when they have not committed any offence, or without being in the least disposed to commit any?

The Danish laws likewise ordain, that whenever the master of a family dies, all his creditors, as soon as they hear of his death, shall immediately lay their pretensions before his representatives, under the penalty of otherwise losing all their respective claims. Every wholesale merchant is obliged by the laws to regulate his accounts, at least every two years, with his creditors, and to desire that they will sign them; and every retail merchant is obliged to do the same every year: the latter is obliged to enter in his books, and likewise in the respective books of his customers, every thing which he delivers; and from
hence

hence, to regulate his accounts every year, under the penalty of being debarred from bringing any action for such debts. The same law likewise regulates the differences between the proprietor of the land and his farmer; the former cannot have any action against the latter, except the debt is judicially established within the year, and the regulation of the accounts which is between them is equally entered upon their respective books, as above-mentioned.

The regulation which is made by the Danish laws respecting bastards is very just and equitable; namely, that when they are acknowledged by their respective fathers in a court of law, they are intitled to the half of the portion of the legitimate children, if there are any; but where there are no other children, they are intitled to the whole succession; and they come in for equal shares of their mother's fortune with the other legitimate children.

The sixth book of the Danish code treats of crimes, and their punishments: the punishments which are inflicted in this kingdom are not so severe as what are inflicted in other kingdoms for the same crimes, except in particular cases: the common people who commit crimes, which would merit banishment, are seldom sent out of this country; but are condemned to work, during their whole lives, upon the public works: undoubtedly there are two good purposes answered by this mode of punishment; the first is, that the state gains by the labour of so many subjects; and the second is, that other states are preserved from new crimes which such villains generally go there to commit as soon as an opportunity presents itself. Robbery is never punished with death in this kingdom, except it is committed by a person who has escaped out of a prison, or from the public labour to which he

was before condemned. But we may see, in this law, the remains of the spirit of the ancient people of the North, who regarded all such actions as shewed boldness and courage with a kind of indulgence: we find a considerable distinction made here between the punishment of a robbery which was committed by force, and that committed by address; the latter is punished corporally, whereas the other is only punished by an infamous fine. The king always signs the condemnation of a person who is to suffer death; which, except in cases of murder, or where the criminal has greatly offended the governing party at court, are not very common in this kingdom. The people in Denmark are not enterprizing enough to undertake any daring robberies; even in the town of Copenhagen we rarely hear of any robberies of this kind, which indeed may be partly owing to the good police which is established here, and to the difficulty there is to escape, first out of the town, which is strongly fortified, and then out of the island. They have, besides the king's guards, a night watch to guard the streets, so that there is no more danger of passing the streets here in the night than in the day.

Some years ago there were a set of melancholy people in this capital, who endeavoured to persuade themselves, that the most certain way to go to heaven was to die upon a scaffold, or upon a gallows: weary of leading a wretched life, and struck with the courage and disposition which some of their fellow subjects had shewn in their last moments in the like circumstances, and regarding the preparation which is made for an approaching death as the most sure means to make their peace with the Divinity, they even committed murders in cold blood, to arm the hands of justice against them, and then demanded death as the means to accomplish their ends rather than as a punishment. But the length of time that they were kept in prison and scourged

continually with whips, before they were brought to the gallows, soon put an end to this enthusiasm. Desertion is rarely punished with death in this kingdom, except it be often repeated, and attended with some odious circumstances. The Danish writers would endeavour to make the world believe, “ that all
 “ those offences which are committed against the king or his
 “ government, or against the court, are punished with still more
 “ gentleness than those which are committed against particulars;
 “ and that there is not the least vestige of inquisition or violence
 “ in the punishment of crimes of this nature; nor any extraor-
 “ dinary commissions to wrest a citizen out of the hands of his
 “ natural judges; and which always give suspicions that he has
 “ been condemned by the passions more than by the justice of
 “ the prince.” How far this is agreeable to the examples of severity, nay I had almost said unparalleled tyranny, with which the late count Struensee and Brandt were treated, even in opposition to the regulations in the before-mentioned code, I must leave the world to judge, after I have made a few observations upon that famous transaction, having been an eye-witness of a great part of it; and having received copies from the original records of the most interesting particulars respecting this affair. I shall not make any reflections here upon the characters of those who were the authors of this transaction, as that will be reserved for another place, but shall now confine my observations to the judicial proceedings.

In the month of January 1772 it was resolved, by a party which was formed at Copenhagen, at the head of whom was the queen-mother and the prince Frederic, with several of the first nobility of Denmark, to accuse the counts Struensee and Brandt, the former minister of the cabinet, and the latter the
 4 king's

king's particular favourite, together with the king's physician, and a great number of their friends, with having formed a design to render the king incapable of governing; and of course, according to the royal law before-mentioned, to declare the queen-confort regent of the kingdom during the minority of his successor. This was what was declared to the public to be the cause of all the violent measures that were taken by the before-mentioned party during this whole transaction: but as those counts were supported by the queen-confort, and had moreover the ear of the king, it was at the same time resolved to make the former a party in the plot, and to surprize the king to sign an order for their being all confined in separate prisons. The danger which the execution of this great plan might be attended with, at first gave much uneasiness to the whole party, but at length the queen-mother and prince Frederic undertook to surprize the king, and to make him sign the order, which had been prepared for several days before, for confining his queen and the other persons before-mentioned; whilst some of their friends undertook to execute it with the utmost rigour. Between three and four o'clock in the morning the queen-mother, with prince Frederic, entered the king's apartment, waked his majesty out of his sleep, accused his queen and the counts Struensee and Brandt, with several others, of having formed a design to dethrone him, and with having otherwise made a bad use of his favour, and desired him to sign the order, while he was in safety, for their being confined. Surprized at this message, and believing it to be strictly true, the king immediately signed the order, which was executed with the utmost dispatch. The queen was taken out of her bed and sent to the castle of Cronenburg, and all the rest of the accused were sent to different prisons, and loaded with irons. A thousand false reports were spread to

blacken the characters of the accused, which the king was made to believe were as true as the gospel, so that he now thought his queen, and all his former friends, were so many enemies, who were endeavouring to destroy him. An extraordinary commission was granted to try these supposed criminals, and every method was employed to procure witnesses to condemn them upon the first accusation; but when it was found that no proofs could be procured to shew that the accused had ever any such intention, this grand affair was dropped; the queen was accused of having had a criminal conversation with Struensee; the latter of having abused his authority, as minister of the cabinet, and of having applied a great part of the public money to his own use; the count Brandt was charged with having given the king a blow, and other ways ill treating him; and others were charged with being accomplices. But, unlucky for the queen-mother and her friends, no legal proofs could be procured to condemn the prisoners upon these charges any more than upon the former. However as they had carried things so far, either the queen-consort, together with Struensee and Brandt, must be destroyed or banished the kingdom for ever; or otherwise, if ever they came to see the king again, their accusers must suffer the punishment which so violent a measure might justly merit. The integrity and humanity of the members of the high-commissioned court were now extolled to the skies by all the friends of the queen-mother and her party, and perhaps with much reason on their part, as they were all appointed by them, and ready to obey their commands; so that in fact the judges and accusers were in the same interest, and consequently very little formalities were necessary towards giving sentence against the accused.

To destroy the queen-consort, or at least to separate her from the king, was the first and great object of the deliberations of this court; for while she had any access to the king the other party must have been in the greatest danger; and therefore as they could procure no legal proofs to support their accusation, they resolved to bring Struensee before the court, and by violence to make him confess as much as was necessary to condemn the queen, or at least to procure a separation between her and the king for ever.

I have already shewn, that by the laws of Denmark, which had existed for many centuries in that kingdom, no person ought to be forced to accuse himself by the torture, or, as it is called, by the question: however, Struensee was brought before the court for this purpose; and for two or three days answered all their interrogatories with great candour, and with the appearance of truth, accusing himself of many faults which he had committed in the course of his administration; but when he was asked about his having any connection with the queen, he absolutely denied having any criminal intercourse with her; and although he was given to understand, that if he would make a thorough confession of that affair, his punishment might be mitigated, he again declared that he was entirely innocent of what he was accused respecting his royal mistress. Hereupon he was taken into another apartment, and shewn all kinds of instruments of torture, and told, that if he did not confess every thing that was demanded of him respecting the queen, he must immediately prepare to undergo the torture; the executioner and others being ready to receive their orders: upon which Struensee fell upon his knees, and burst into tears, begged that they would not put him to the torture, and he would say any thing that they

they would have him to say, or make any declaration they thought proper. This was all they wanted; and it is said, that he afterwards confessed his having been intimate with the queen. Moreover, other witnesses came before the court, and declared that they had seen the count Struensee drive the queen in a sledge over the snow, and that she had often spoke to him in public, with other things of the like nature.

The practice of driving the princesses and ladies of the court over the snow in sledges is very common in all the North, though it was upon this particular, joined to Struensee's confession, after he was threatened to be put to the torture, that these upright judges declared the queen and the count Struensee to be guilty of what they were accused; and the former was hereupon separated in form from the king; and if she had not been powerfully protected, would have fallen a sacrifice for having brought a prince into the world, who obstructs in some measure the ambitious views of her envious rival.

The counts Struensee and Brandt, after having undergone a formal examination which lasted near two months, at length received sentence. All mankind were eager to see this sentence, and to hear the proofs which had been given to support the accusations before-mentioned: but how much were they surprised, at least all those who knew the present state of Denmark, when they saw this sentence composed of notorious falsehoods, contradictory to the laws then established in this kingdom, and glaring with every absurdity!

The sentence which was passed upon Struensee begins with setting forth, "that he had been first convicted, and even confessed
" his

“ his having been guilty of a great crime which comprehends the
“ crime of treason in the highest degree, and which, accord-
“ ing to the first article of the fourth chapter of the sixth book
“ of the code, merited to be punished with death.” But the
fact was not so; Struensee was never convicted of any such crime,
according to the laws then established in this kingdom. Un-
doubtedly the king could change the old, or make new, laws
for the punishment of any crime every hour; and it is certain
that new laws were made for convicting the queen and Struensee,
even some time after they were imprisoned: but I believe every
impartial person will join with me in saying, that this is a species
of tyranny which is unworthy of any Christian prince in this
enlightened age. Struensee first denied what he was accused of,
with respect to the queen, with such an air of candor and vera-
city, and corroborated his assertions with so many reasons, that
many of the commissioners believed that he spoke the truth; but
when this poor wretch, who was now half dead, by being chained
to the wall in a cold dungeon, was threatened also with the tor-
ture, nature could not support it, and he immediately cried out
in this manner, “Tell me what I must confess and I am ready
“ to do it, but do not put me to the torture.” And will those
judges, or their, I had almost said infamous, protectors dare to
insult mankind so much as to tell them that this is evidence to
convict the queen? They could not, according to the laws then
subsisting in Denmark, condemn the poorest wretch in the king-
dom upon this evidence. After which, they go on in this sen-
tence to condemn Struensee with having been the cause of all
the errors and changes which were committed and made in the
administration during the present reign, many of which the king
and his favourites had projected before Struensee came to Copen-
hagen. But the grand point upon which they condemned Stru-
ensee,

enfee, with any colour of a reason, was that of having defrauded the king, and applied a great part of the public money to his own use; but this was a particular of which they had not the least idea, before they got Struenfee's books into their own power. Struenfee, as minister of the cabinet, had received a considerable sum of the public money, to make good some payments which depended upon his office, and kept a book wherein he minuted all the payments which he had made; and when he was imprisoned this book, with all the rest of his papers, fell into the hands of his enemies, and was produced as evidence against him. For one article of expence, which could not amount to 20,000 rixdollars, there appeared a charge upon this book of near 120,000 when it was brought before the judges; but it appears by the sentence, that even these judges saw that the book had been altered since it was first written, and that one of the figures which made the sum, which was meant originally to be under 20,000, to be so much above 100,000, was placed out of the line, and evidently formed by another hand. When Struenfee was examined upon this head, he declared that this book was written by him, but that this charge, as well as several others, had been falsified by some other hand since it had been out of his possession: however, notwithstanding this declaration appeared to agree so well with what appeared upon the book, this was made one of the principal articles for which he was condemned. Struenfee was far from being a fool; and therefore could any reasonable person suppose that if he was disposed to defraud the public of this sum of money, he would keep a book to record his infamy in this manner, when he could easily have had the king's acquittance for any sum of money he wanted, without being called to account for it? Brandt was condemned for having given the king a blow, and otherwise ill-treating him; although

though the very evening before he was sent to prison the king shewed him all the favour possible, as he had always been accustomed to do: and thus fell these two unhappy men a sacrifice to the unbounded malice of their enemies. If they had ordered them to be assassinated in prison, they would not have rendered themselves so odious to all the sensible part of mankind as they have done; but to do this under the sanction of a court of justice, is what must shock even the humanity of an Indian or a Tartar. All the others, who were originally accused of being in the plot against the king, were condemned, some to perpetual imprisonment, others to be banished the kingdom for ever; and others again for a certain time, though no crime whatever was proved against them, except their having received favours from the king, through the intercession of the counts Struensee and Brandt, may be called such.

Through the course of this work I have given some specimens of the justice which the poor farmers and others are to expect when they oppose to the nobility, and those who have interest with the minister; and it will from hence be seen what justice those of the highest rank are to expect, when they act contrary to the views of the governing party at court. In the courts of Asia, when a sultan, a mogul, or a grand visir commits such acts of tyranny, a revolution generally succeeds, and they are punished as their crimes deserve; but in Denmark, every thing is carried on under the cloak of justice; oppression and tyranny are protected, and the innocent are made victims to the malice and baseness of the great. However several of the kings of the Oldenburg line, and particularly the late king Frederic the Fifth, have taken apparently all the precaution possible to give the supreme court of the kingdom such a form and rules

as were deemed proper to maintain good order and justice there.

In the year 1750, the king granted a considerable sum of money out of his private purse to increase the appointments of the judges; and likewise established a president at the head of this tribunal.

And by another regulation in the year 1753, he took some other precautions to make this court as respectable by the integrity of its judges as by the authority which they exercise: no judge could be appointed to a seat in this court till after he had shewn his integrity and capacity in an inferior; and even in the inferior courts those judges could never obtain that title, and the right of voting in the decision of cases, till they had assisted as auditors for several years; and during this time given their opinion in writing, in every critical case, to shew their talents and knowledge of the laws. Undoubtedly these regulations, if they were well followed, would prevent ignorant persons from coming into their courts of justice; and there are others apparently no less effectual to maintain the integrity of those judges: for they are forbidden even to talk among themselves of the affairs which are to be brought before this court; and the secretary is obliged to write down their opinions as they give them, which is to be on record; and which is calculated to be as a monument of their talents and of their integrity. Undoubtedly these regulations are extremely well calculated to secure the just and impartial administration and execution of the laws. But alas! when a government is founded upon tyrannical and vicious principles, the less essential parts of its structure are seldom found to be otherwise.

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It is true the late king, who had many amiable and good qualities, was desirous of rendering exact and impartial justice to all his subjects, and that with as much precision and humanity as the particular cases would admit.

All the causes of every year are written upon a table, which is printed and hung up in the court, to be decided the year after, as they are recorded. Nothing is to be done which may suspend the course of criminal cases, that by their nature should be expedited without delay, except there are very strong reasons given for such suspension. The court should increase the number and length of its sessions, if it is seen that the judges cannot otherwise judge all the cases that are before them in the course of the year: and to facilitate still more the expedition of their affairs, they are permitted in common cases to dispense with long pleadings, and to receive only an abridged report of each case.

No person can be received as a lawyer to plead before the supreme court, till he has produced certificates of his having properly studied the law, and till he has shewn his talents, by pleading in some critical cases before the court: besides the oath which the lawyers take when they are received as such before the court, the judges may order them in every case to take what the Romans called the *Juramentum Calumniæ*; so that they are obliged to study carefully the causes in which they are employed, and to make an extract of all the papers which have been laid before them; so that if they fall sick, they may serve for the instruction of another lawyer, who, to avoid any delays, is to take their place.

The lawyers are not permitted to read before the court the titles and documents of the cases which are entrusted to them; it is the secretary of the court who must undertake this task, to give a more certain instruction to the judges, who have no other knowledge of these titles than what they then receive.

This king made the same regulations in the superior court of Norway, with an intent to establish there the same order that was established in the supreme court in Denmark. But the Danish nation is still more obliged to Frederic the Fifth for the code of military marine laws which he caused to be published; the first part of which was signed the 3d of February 1752, and soon after printed: it is a collection of all the ancient military marine regulations, with several new and judicious additions: this part treats of what concerns the fleet when it is at sea. The second part, which was afterwards published, regulates all the affairs of the whole body of the marine when they are at land. This code sets forth very particularly all the rights and powers of the admiralty, and the duties of every officer, and in fact of every person who belongs to the fleet. The particular detail of the duties of all the marine officers was so much the more necessary, as the law had before established a very rigorous subordination. The form of proceeding criminally is there stated, for all the crimes which are committed at sea; and the punishments which are to be inflicted for such crimes are likewise fixed: the duties of the officers and seamen in the day of battle are explained, together with the recompences which should be always bestowed upon the brave, and the punishments which should always be inflicted upon those who neglect or retire from their duty.

Frederic

Frederic the Fifth likewise made some addition to the code of Christian the Fifth by reducing all the particular laws and ordinances which had been published during the reigns of Frederic the Fourth and Christian the Sixth into one body, and uniting them, with amendments, to the code before-mentioned. But this well-disposed king was not content with reforming the laws of Denmark, he endeavoured also to make the subjects of Holstein and Sleswick perceive how much he was disposed to promote an impartial administration of justice among them. The laws of Jutland, of which I have so often made mention, are received in the duchy of Sleswick; and the Saxon laws, together with those of Lubeck, and the ancient Roman law, are received in Holstein: moreover the kings of Denmark and dukes of Sleswick and Holstein had likewise, at different times, published in the two duchies a great number of edicts and ordinances which had never been collected into a body, were very little known, and consequently made the jurisprudence of these provinces uncertain. This king therefore caused all these edicts and ordinances to be collected and published, and by his letters patent of the 31st of December 1747, gave them the force of laws: this prince likewise made considerable alterations and improvements in the sovereign courts of justice in Sleswick and Gluckstadt; created several new judges; and augmented considerably the appointments of all those who composed these courts. He suppressed the ancient usage, which was established here, of consulting the German universities in all criminal affairs; and has given the sovereign decision, in those matters, to the court of Gluckstadt: in all criminal causes therefore the principal object at present is the discussion of the facts, and afterwards all their consequences and circumstances are immediately before the eyes of the judges. Certainly this prince judged very properly respecting this matter; for

for why should those men, who, by their situation in life, ought to have been instructed in the laws, and by their profession are called to make a continual application of them, be obliged to consult foreign lawyers, who undoubtedly would be less circumspect in the judgment which they gave than those to whom the sovereign had entrusted the right of disposing of the lives of his subjects? moreover it must be very disagreeable to men of science and integrity, if any such there were, to submit all their decisions to foreigners, who perhaps were much their inferiors in both these particulars; not to say any thing of the time which might be gained, and the expence which might be saved by such an arrangement.

C H A P. III.

Of the Manners and Customs of the DANISH Nation.

DIFFERENT authors who have written upon this head have given us different characters of the people of this country, and represented them in very different points of view: it will be observed, from what has been already said of their ancient and present form of government, that their general character is very much changed from what it was in former ages. The baron de Holberg, a Norwegian author of great talents and judgment, has endeavoured to exculpate his countrymen from several of the severe reflections which have been thrown upon them by some other authors, and therefore cannot be supposed to be too severe upon them: consequently, if I only make some reflections upon what this author has said, for which my own observations have

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abundantly furnished me with materials, I hope I shall not be accused, as my lord Moleworth was, of being partial, and too severe upon the Danish nation.

“The modern Danes,” says Holberg, “are not those sanguinary and ferocious people their ancestors were, who were ashamed of dying in their beds, and who made their greatest felicity consist in drinking hydromel out of the skulls of their enemies: nevertheless the nation has not lost all its ancient bravery and courage.” However, it does not appear that they have ever dared to enter the field with equal numbers against the Swedes or the Germans for more than 200 years past, nay, I might have said, since the Yeomanry have lost their liberty. “And,” adds this author, “there are no people who are less inquiet, less seditious, more compliable, and among whom there are less public robberies than there are in Denmark.” This is very true; and, as I have often observed, clearly proves that by continual scenes of oppression and tyranny they are entirely changed, and from a brave, enterprising, and warlike people, are become indolent, timid, and dull of apprehension; suffering themselves to be kept in a low and dejected state; losing every spark of emulation, and of a laudable ambition; and catching at shadows while they are losing the substance.

Baron Holberg thinks, “that strangers have a very imperfect idea of the abilities of the Danish nation in the mechanic arts, and that they would make a much greater progress, if they had less extravagance, and were not so idle: for,” says he, “where the wife of a tradesman goes to church in a coach, where a wedding consumes all the bride’s fortune,

“ or a burial all the property of the family, it is difficult for the
 “ price of labour to be put upon the same footing that it is in
 “ other countries : thus the unnecessary expences which the
 “ inhabitants of Copenhagen, and indeed of all the other great
 “ cities in this kingdom, put themselves to upon these and
 “ other occasions of the like nature, render living in these towns
 “ extremely dear, though the prices of all the necessaries of
 “ life are very reasonable.”

Certainly there is no part of Europe where extravagancies of all kinds are carried to such lengths, in proportion to the little they have to spend, as in this kingdom.

Baron de Holberg often reproaches his fellow citizens with admiring empty titles and distinctions too much. But before I make my remarks upon this head, it will be necessary that I should explain what these titles and distinctions are : all the employments, whether at court or in the civil or military government, and even the ecclesiastical dignities, give all those who hold them a kind of rank and nobility, which, during their lives, place them not only above the common citizens, but even above the gentlemen who have no other title ; but which is extinct at their death, or if they should be displaced. The nature of the employ generally fixes the rank between those who are in the same train, but it cannot decide the precedence between an officer, a magistrate, and an ecclesiastic : and therefore this has been often regulated by an ordinance for the etiquette or rank. As those whose offices are named in the edict are supposed to be superior to those who have no employ, or whose employ is not classed in the ordinance, the desire and even the want of having a rank is the reason why simple titles, which are not annexed to
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any employment or emolument, are so much the objects of ambition: it is very common in this country to obtain the title of an employment, which the person never exercises, and from which he never receives any pecuniary benefit, but even pays a considerable sum yearly for bearing the title: and very often those who have a certain rank by their employments, after some time obtain titles superior to their respective functions. These titles are likewise sometimes imaginary; as thus, when a person has the title of counsellor of state, of justice, or of finances, it is not to be concluded from thence that he has necessarily any part of the government of the state, of justice, or of the public revenues, except the word actual is added to his character; otherwise it is only a nominal character which marks his rank. I suppose that the king of Denmark has some hundreds of lords of the bedchamber, who pay about ten pounds sterling yearly for wearing a golden key, which gives them a considerable rank, and that there are not ten paid for their attendance at court. Indeed this foolish ambition has gained such ground in Denmark that a merchant is not contented with his fortune, an artizan with the consideration which his talents will procure him, nor a man of letters with the titles of master of arts, doctor, or professor, names which at best signify very little, when they design no real qualities, but they endeavour to procure the title of counsellors of the king, and thereby raise themselves above the class of their fellow citizens. At first sight it might appear very extraordinary, that men of sense and talents should be led away with such chimerical notions; but when it is considered that the greatest part of the people in this kingdom look upon a man in a more favourable light who has only a nominal rank in the state, than if he had all the wisdom and talents in the world without such rank, some excuse may be offered in their favour,

The first class of this titular order of nobility is composed of the four great officers of the crown; the great chancellor; the high treasurer; the field-marshal general; and the admiral general; together with the members of the council of state; the viceroy of Norway; the knights of the order of the elephant; the field marshal; the vice-admiral of the fleet; the great chamberlain; the master of the ordnance; the generals in chief of the horse and foot; the counsellors of the council of state, who are of the order of Dannebrog; the rear-admirals; the privy-counsellors; and the lieutenant-generals of horse and of foot; and the privy-counsellors of conference: the privy-counsellors, as well as the privy-counsellors of conference, are only titular; but notwithstanding that they are honoured with the title of excellence as well as all the other great officers who are ranked in this class.

In the second class are ranked all the knights of the order of the Dannebrog; the counts who have counties in the kingdom; the great marshal of the court; the lords of the bedchamber, who were created before the year 1755; the chief of the gentlemen of the bedchamber; the secretaries of state, if they have no superior dignities; the receiver-general; the master of the horse; the forest-master; the queen's master of the household; the first gentleman of the chamber to the prince royal; the governors and marshals of the court to the royal family; the major-generals; the rear-admirals who are not in commission; the colonels of the guards, and of the artillery; the great bailiffs; and the lords of the bedchamber who have been lately created; together with the counsellors of conference.

These

These two classes have always a right to come to court, and may be admitted to the king's table; although the dignity of counsellor of conference is only titular.

In the third class are ranked the counts, who have no counties in the king's territories; the barons, who have no baronies in them; brigadier-generals; commodores; provincial counsellors of state; the bishops of Copenhagen and of Christiania; the king's confessor; the gentlemen of the horse to the king, and to the queen; the master of the ceremonies; the commissaries general; the colonels of the king's regiments; the other colonels of the horse and foot; the lieutenant-colonels of the guards; the captains of the men of war; the titular provincial counsellors of state; and all the rest of the bishops.

In the fourth class are ranked all lieutenant-colonels of the king's regiments and of the artillery; the other lieutenant-colonels, and the majors of the guards; the gentlemen of the bedchamber, who are very numerous, as this is a degree whereby the nobility advance to arrive at that of being lords of the bedchamber; the counsellors of justice; the rector of the university, during the time that he exercises this function, and the first preacher of the court; the secretaries of the orders of the elephant, and of the Dannebrog; the king's aid-de-camp; the auditors general; the quarter-master general; the attorney-general; the younger sons of counts; the barons, who have no baronies in the king's dominions; and the master of the king's mines. As I have distinguished those counts and barons who have counties and baronies in the king's dominions from those who have not, it will be necessary that I should explain the origin and signification of these titles. The ancient history of Denmark makes

mention of the dignity of jarl, or, as it is written in English, earl, and in French, comte, as a title which was not hereditary, but as being the name that was given to the governor of a province, and which was afterwards lost, as the governors of the provinces were called bailiffs: but in all the ancient history of this kingdom we rarely meet with the word baron, but often with the word herfa, which is thought to be synonymous: this dignity does not appear to have been hereditary any more than the other. At the time of the revolution they had neither the title of jarl nor of herfa: a gentleman who possessed one of the privileged fiefs, called himself Herremand, and he had all the rights and privileges that are attached to the title of baron. Christian the Fifth, the second absolute king of Denmark, did not seem at all disposed to follow the spirit of despotism, and to efface the hereditary distinctions; but on the contrary he changed several noble fiefs into counties and baronies, and gave the proprietors the name of græve and friherr, which answers to graf and freyherr in German, and to earl and baron in English. The title and privileges were transmitted, with the lands, to the eldest son only, and to descend regularly in the male line: the counts and barons are also patrons of their respective churches, and have courts of justice in their fiefs, as has been already observed: they cannot be arrested for debt: in all criminal cases their lands are an asylum, where they are secure till they are condemned by a court of justice, except in the case of high treason, the only instance where they can be deprived of it, it passes to the nearest relation: they are to be attacked in justice only before the supreme tribunal of the kingdom: the houses which they build in town are judged to belong to their lands, and pass with them to their eldest sons: they have a certain extent of land which does not pay any taxes; namely, about 1800 acres in a county, and

600 only in a barony: the younger sons of the counts are barons without any particular patent, and without possessing baronies.

There are other families which have the title of count as a personal dignity, independent of the land, and which is transmitted indifferently to all their children, even when they are not in possession of any land: the title of count, which is annexed to a county, is the highest degree of honour which any subject, except he is of the royal family, can have in Denmark: the title of duke has seldom been heard of in all the history of this kingdom: there are only fourteen counties in the kingdom of Denmark and fifteen baronies; and two counties in Norway. The Danish authors suppose that there are about 1,000,000 of souls in the kingdom of Denmark and the duchy of Sleswick; in the great duchy of Holstein, which is now united, and in the possession of the king of Denmark, 500,000; so that we may suppose this prince to have about 2,100,000 subjects.

The inhabitants of Denmark may be divided into five separate classes: First, The nobility who have privileged fiefs in the kingdom. Secondly, The titular nobility. Thirdly, The clergy, lawyers, and students. Fourthly, The merchants and citizens of the great towns. Fifthly, The seamen and farmers. There are very few families of the ancient nobility of Denmark existing at present; all those families who are in possession of the privileged fiefs, have been made noble since the revolution in 1660, and many of them very lately. They value themselves very much upon their titles and privileges, are extremely fond of pomp and shew, and are no less arbitrary in their principles than their predecessors were before the revolution: they endeavour to imitate the French in their manners, dress, and even in

in their gallantry; though they are naturally the very contrast of that nation: they fall much into that indolence and timidity which form a considerable part of the character of the Danish nation; but in other respects they are well-meaning people, and acquit themselves properly in their respective employments. A great part of the titular nobility of the kingdom are Germans, who come very poor into this country; but from the great interest which they generally have at court, and by directly falling into all the schemes of the minister or favourite, who is for the most part a stranger, and carrying all his dirty plans into execution, they push themselves forward into the principal employments both in the civil and military departments: for if I can judge of the policy of this state, it is to keep the ancient inhabitants of this kingdom as much under as possible, so as to preserve the arbitrary government at present established, as human nature will sometimes be indignant at the heavy load which is laid upon her; and therefore no persons are so proper to carry such a task into execution as those adventurers, whose ignorance, meanness, and want of sentiment, make them very proper instruments for the minister, and proper subjects to fill up the scale of slavery here established: every thing that is great, noble, honest, or virtuous seems to be totally fled from this spurious race. to oppress the people, and to enrich themselves, seem to be the two great objects of their policy; and, as long as they have a protector at court, they give themselves no concern about laws or justice.

In the reign of the late king, whose great desire to see his subjects happy and to increase their trade and manufactures made him universally esteemed, one of the before-mentioned adventurers came into this kingdom from Germany; and from his powerful recommendation obtained the place of being page to the king; but his poverty was so great that he had scarcely the common necessities

necessaries of life: however he had not been long in this situation before his flattery and cunning gained him a considerable share in the king's esteem, and at length he became the favourite; disposed of all the places and employments in the state, sold all his master's favours, raised a fortune which will be thought almost incredible in this poor country, and pushed his family into the principal places of trust in the kingdom: so far, according to the custom of this country, his conduct was not so very blameable: but though this man is said to have been descended from a considerable family in Germany, his conduct was so very mean that he entered into all the little abject practices to amass wealth, which an honest man, descended from the very dregs of the people, would have been ashamed of pursuing; and tyrannized over the ancient inhabitants of the kingdom in a manner which had never before been practised. A Danish gentleman had a very considerable estate, which this favourite cast his eyes upon, and wanted to buy it; but as the gentleman did not then want money, and was not disposed to sell his estate, he was refused. Piqued at this refuse, and still more desirous of having the estate, he determined from the ascendancy which he now had over the king's mind, by keeping him continually almost drunk, and consequently not in a situation to look into his affairs, to force the gentleman to sell it; and therefore kept him constantly involved in law and disputes, till his affairs were so embarrassed, that he could not avoid disposing of the inheritance of his family; so that at length, by tyranny and oppression, he got possession of the estate much cheaper than he imagined; or for a much less price than he would at first have given. I shall hereafter be obliged to mention some other practices of this favourite and of his friends when I come to state the present situation of the trade and manufactures of Denmark, which will serve to convince mankind

mankind of the truth of what I have before observed. How the ancient Danish families have been oppressed, and how justice has been trampled under foot, during the present reign, by favourites and adventurers of this kind, I think I need not inform my readers, as all mankind are already well instructed in this matter.

The clergy and lawyers, as they are entirely dependent upon the court and upon the great lords of the kingdom, are the most subservient creatures I have ever seen: it is true they fill their respective places in the scale of slavery, but they fill them as so many cyphers, or rather as so many machines that are moved at the will of others. I have met with several very sensible and learned men among the clergy and lawyers of this kingdom, which made me pity their situation; for certainly a man who knows his duty well, and is prevented from doing it, has a very disagreeable task to go through: and when men have no will of their own, it is very difficult to define their characters. There are several hundreds of students in the university of Copenhagen who were entered upon establishments, which were made by the former kings at a time when all the necessaries of life were very cheap, and when those young men could live decently upon what was allowed them; but now, as all those necessaries are become much dearer, and as few of those students have any private fortune, many of them are in the greatest misery. I have met with several young men of lively parts in the university, and which might make a considerable figure in the world; but since these new titular nobility bear the sway here, ignorance and impudence, as coming the nearest to their own character, are rewarded, whilst real merit, modesty, and decency are treated with the greatest contempt. Some time since the king had a French comedy established at Copenhagen, to the sight of which
every

every decent person was admitted gratis; but I was really astonished to see three or four young men of genius refused admittance to this comedy, because they were students in the university, though they were very decently dressed, and even solicited to be admitted into the galleries; while those places were filled with valet de chambres and others of that class. No class of people are held in more contempt in this country than the students of the university: what encouragement then have men of genius and talents to study and to cultivate the sciences? Some of the former kings of Denmark founded several excellent establishments in this university, and gave much encouragement to learning and merit; and many men of great learning and genius have been bred up in this seminary, whose writings have done honour to the nation: but since Denmark has been governed by favourites, and the adventurers before-mentioned, every thing which tends to improve the manners and genius of the people, has not only been neglected, but treated with the greatest contempt.

Frederic the Third began to make a cabinet of natural curiosities, at present called the Chamber of Rarities, of which a curious collection of medals made a principal part, which, together with a collection of animals, minerals, precious stones, and some fragments of antiquity, made a museum that might give great information to the curious: but the above-mentioned favourite of Frederic the Fifth, instead of augmenting this public collection, appropriated the principal pieces in it to his own use: it is to be supposed that he had the king's permission to do it; though several of the Danes say, that Frederic often expressed his desire to increase this collection, for the use of the public, and would never consent to its being diminished.

There are likewise two public libraries in this capital, which were established by the ancient kings of Denmark for the use of the students; and a foundation to enable several of the principal students to travel into foreign countries, and to collect curiosities from the different parts of the world; but there are very few books in the libraries in proportion to what they were intended to have had; and, except it is a friend or favourite of the minister, no person is permitted to travel now upon this royal foundation; but this worthy minister takes care to draw the money that should be laid out occasionally in buying books, and for the use of those who travel, into his own pocket.

No class of people is more vain and idle, and more fond of a ridiculous parade, in proportion to what they have to spend, than the merchants and citizens of the principal towns in Denmark; the very reverse of whom are those of Norway, who although under the same form of government, and oppressed by the favourites and ministers before-mentioned, as much as they dare do it, are a people more free, generous, industrious, fond of commerce, and of saving the money which they have gained. The former are educated in all the principles of a slavish timidity; but the latter are more liberal and free in their deportment: the latter make very good merchants and mechanics, and carry on a considerable commerce; the former are naturally idle and extravagant: the Norwegians are plain, honest, dealers; but the same character cannot justly be given of the Danes, who would sacrifice their interest and friends to parade with an empty title, from which they could never expect to receive any real benefit: indeed something may be said in their favour from their education, and from the oppressive form of government under which they live.

If

If a favourite, a minister, or some great person at court was desirous of having a merchant's house, gardens, or even all his property, it would be absurd for the latter to contest the matter with him at law, notwithstanding the excellent regulations which appear in the code of laws; the most prudent step for him to take would be to give up the matter peaceably, and not to spend the rest of his fortune to retain what the other desired: the most sensible Danes who see their country thus oppressed and impoverished have no other remedy but to mourn in silence; the king being absolute, and the power of the minister or favourite so very great, that the least resistance would be fatal; although they see all the places of trust in the kingdom filled with foreigners; and behold the greatest part of the specie of Denmark carried into foreign countries to feed the necessitous relations of those who are domineering over them at home, whilst the poor of this kingdom are in the most lamentable situation: I say, although they see all these things they must remain silent.

The farmers of this kingdom being in a state of the most abject slavery cannot be supposed to have any will of their own, but struggling under the weight of oppression, and seeing no possibility of freeing themselves from it, fall into an idle and indolent course of life, and think of little else than procuring themselves common food and raiment; as more than this would only expose them to be ill-treated by their insatiable masters, or the king's officers, till they had lost it. People who are bred up and live in such a state may be moulded at the pleasure of their governors almost into what form they please; they know none of the principal characteristics of human nature, but what they are taught by instinct, and though Christians, are denied the

common rights of humanity. The farmers of Norway are upon a very different footing, they are absolute proprietors of their own farms, and have only to support the oppression now and then of the king's officers: there is a kind of emulation among the latter; the security of their property has made them desirous of augmenting it by agriculture and commerce, and they enter for something in the scale of things.

The seamen in Denmark are well instructed, and if they were treated a little better than they are would be undoubtedly upon a very respectable footing; but still it may be very easily perceived, that they are bred up in a state of timid slavery from their great indolence and want of courage, except they are threatened by their officers; whereas those of Norway, who are bred up with some ideas of liberty, and of their own consequence, are bold and courageous, and are undoubtedly the best seamen in all the North.

These people seldom enter into quarrels with each other, although they are very fond of drinking, and of smoking tobacco, which are of general use here, and which, I believe, contribute much to their health and to the little vivacity they possess in the midst of such a cold and wet atmosphere: the common people in this country are, as I have already observed, naturally idle; and when they have some property, are fond of imitating the fashions and customs of their superiors: they are remarkably dirty in their houses, and in their persons; even the merchants and citizens, who would appear decent in public, will put on clean sleeves and necks to cover a dirty shirt, which they have wore for two or three weeks; and their houses, warmed with hot stoves, where there is no regular circulation of air, are in
general

general very offensive to strangers, which I take to be the principal cause why the generality of the people in this country have such heavy and pale cadaverous countenances. The female sex in this kingdom seldom come to maturity till the sixteenth year of their age; and among the lower and middling ranks of people, are rather cold and phlegmatic; but among the upper classes, where of late years they have endeavoured to guard against the intemperances of the climate, and by exotic amusements to correct the ancient national disposition, the sex seem to have made a great progress in the arts of love; and are very desirous of convincing the world that even the meridional sun is not more efficacious to correct a cold phlegmatic constitution, than the natural charms and allurements of beauty, when they are properly exercised.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Laws, Customs, and Policy of DENMARK and NORWAY, respecting Trade, Manufactures, and Commerce.

TH E dominions of this monarchy are extremely well situated for commerce; her harbours well calculated for the reception of ships of all burdens; her mariners very expert in the navigation of the different parts of the ocean; her forests supplying her with a great variety of timber, and other materials, for ship-building; and some of her provinces afford a great many natural productions for exportation: but alas! her commerce is so shackled by the corruption and arbitrary proceedings of her ministers, and her merchants are so terrified by the despotism of her government, and often still more so by that of favourites,
that

that this kingdom, which might soon be rendered rich and flourishing, is at present one of the most indigent and distressed states in Europe: and however wonderful and extraordinary this may, at first view, appear to many of my readers, when they examine what has been already said of the internal policy of Denmark, and what will be said of her laws and customs respecting commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, they will not at all be surprized that this country is in such a deplorable situation at present; but, on the other hand, wonder that she is no worse. I have already observed, that the greatest part of the lands in Denmark and Holstein are fiefs, and that the ancient nobility of this kingdom, by grants which they extorted at different times from the crown, gained such a power over the farmers and those who resided upon their estates, that at length they reduced them into a state of slavery equal to that of the Negroes in the West India islands; and they were bought and sold with the lands, and were esteemed the property of their lords. The writers upon the feudal tenures have supposed that this state of servitude was originally a part of that institution; but by perusing the capitulations of the ancient kings of Denmark it will appear, that this pretended power of the nobility had no legal foundation. It is true that the situation of the farmers has been made somewhat more agreeable by some modern edicts, but they are still, if I may use the expression, chained to their farms, and are disposed of at the will of their lords. When a farmer in Denmark and in Holstein happens to be an industrious man, and is situated upon a poor farm, which he is by his great diligence and industry endeavouring to cultivate and enrich, as soon as he has performed the laborious task, and expects to reap the profits of what he has sown, his lord, under pretence of taking it into his own hand, removes him from that farm to another of his poor farms,

farms, and expects that he should perform the same laborious task there, without any other emolument than what he shall think proper to give him. Mankind will undoubtedly be filled with amazement when I tell them, that this has been the constant practice in this country; and can it be wondered at then that agriculture should be so little improved, and that nine parts in ten of the inhabitants should be in such a state of poverty? The most abject part of the human species, thus oppressed, will never exert themselves in favour of their oppressors; human nature will shrink from such an idea. When a poor person sees that he can have no security for the produce of his labour more than meat and raiment, he will confine his industry to these objects, and take no thought for any other thing: this has been the case of the greatest part of the farmers of Denmark for many ages past: they have not raised grain enough for their own consumption, and the land has runned to pasture: they have bred a great quantity of small cattle on it, it is true; but this pasture is not proper for fattening their cattle; they are obliged to send them into Holstein for that purpose, from whence, when they are fat, they are sold for the use of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and a great quantity of this beef salted and dried is sent into Holland. The low and marshy lands of Holstein and Sleswic are very properly appropriated for the support of a breed of horses, of which great numbers are sent yearly into Germany for mounting the Austrian, Prussian, and other troops. If the farmers had a security for their property, the lands of Denmark might have been cultivated to a much greater advantage than they are at present; and a much greater number of people might be supported by the produce of agriculture; so that when we regard it in any point of view, the oppression and tyranny which are practised over the poor farmers, will always appear to be highly detrimental.

detrimental to the state. Again, some of the great towns, and two or three of the provinces, of this kingdom, were of late years become so populous that the produce of agriculture, as the lands were not cultivated to the greatest advantage, was not sufficient for their support; and consequently they were forced by necessity to engage in manufactures of different kinds: but from the great poverty in which they had been kept by their feudal laws, and from the great ignorance in which they had lived, they only attempted to manufacture such things as were necessary for their common raiment, and for the ordinary uses of life; and even in the manufacturing of these things they followed the methods which had been practised for several centuries before, without any regulation, invention, or taste: even in the town of Copenhagen, the capital of this kingdom, the most common manufactures were in such an unimproved state when the late king Frederic the Fifth came to the throne, that many foreigners thought they were manufactured by their ancestors 400 years before; whereupon that prince, with his consort the princess of England, who had the prosperity and welfare of this country at heart, pursued every rational plan to bring ingenious foreigners into their dominions, to improve the manufactures then established therein, and to introduce such new branches of manufacture as their subjects were unacquainted with. The king ordered considerable sums of money to be paid out of the royal treasury to purchase all the materials necessary for such branches of manufacture, and to support such manufacturers till they could provide for themselves by the produce of their respective branches of manufacture; in fact he took every rational step that a king could take to make his country rich and flourishing: but alas! the greatest part of his schemes were frustrated, advantages were taken of this prince's weakness to render all his measures abortive:

tive: his prime minister and favourite, who came out of Germany with little more than a change of raiment, had a different plan to pursue; enriching himself and his family was the sole object he had in view; for which purpose he took every base and unjust measure, even such as the lowest of mankind, who had the least spark of common honesty, would have been ashamed of: I say this minister, and those who acted under him, by his order, made the poor manufacturers receive a small part of the money which the king had ordered for their support, and at the same time to give him or them a receipt for the whole; and likewise made them acknowledge to have received a much greater quantity of the materials of manufacture than they had actually received, under pretence that they should receive the remainder at a future time; and when they afterwards demanded what they imagined was their due, their own receipts and acknowledgments were produced against them as a proof their dishonesty. Thus did the greatest part of the money, which was by the laws of Denmark allotted to the support and improvement of the manufactures, come into the pockets of the minister and his dependents: and afterwards, when such manufactures were destroyed and the manufacturers ruined, and forced to leave the kingdom, the minister exulted in their destruction, and gave it out that their idleness and extravagance were the cause. It was for the interest of the minister that the people of this kingdom should be kept poor, and dependent upon him, otherwise their riches might make them troublesome to him, and enable them to counteract, in some measure, his plan of administration: and if any person dared to represent this iniquitous scene to the king, the minister had credit and cunning enough to parry the blow, and certain destruction and banishment would be the consequence

I will not pretend to say, that a plan of administration upon the same principles continues at present in this country; but the most sensible of her inhabitants say, that it is very much like it: how then can a state, so circumstanced, ever be improved by arts and manufactures? It would be the last absurdity even to attempt it till the administration and execution of the laws are cleared of such harpies, who are glutting themselves with the destruction of their country: if a poor merchant or manufacturer, who has ever so much justice on his side, attempts to enter into a process of law with any of the ministers or nobility of this country, certain ruin will be his fate; as the judges have little regard for honour or justice, when a great man is either plaintiff or defendant: consequently Denmark cannot possibly become famous for her arts and manufactures till the whole system of her internal policy is altered. The most sensible Danes, who see their country thus oppressed and impoverished, have no other remedy but to mourn in silence; the king being absolute, and the power of the minister or favourite so great, that the least resistance would be fatal: though they see all the places of trust in the kingdom filled with foreigners, and their own countrymen however meritorious disregarded; though they see the greatest part of the specie of Denmark carried into foreign countries to feed the necessitous relations of those who are domineering over them at home, whilst their own poor are in the most distressed situations; I say, although they see all these things, they must remain silent.

Indeed there is lately a manufacture of fine woollen cloth, and another of silk, established at Copenhagen; but besides all the disadvantages aforesaid, the proprietors are obliged to buy all the materials for the different branches of these manufactures in
foreign

foreign parts, and moreover to hire strangers at an advanced price to conduct and carry on such branches; and therefore cannot possibly bring their goods to a market upon the same footing with others. In fact, foreign silks and cloths, and all other foreign manufactured goods, are smuggled into this kingdom, and sold sixty per cent. cheaper than they can be made there.

The commerce of the dominions of the crown of Denmark is not in a more prosperous and flourishing situation than her agriculture and manufactures; Norway, Holstein, and Jutland are the chief provinces which afford any natural production for exportation: the wood, pitch, tar, and fish of the former, and the grain, cattle, horses, and other productions of agriculture of the latter, secure those provinces a balance of trade; which, together with the small silver mines of Norway, are the only avenues whereby they draw specie into Denmark, besides the duties which foreign ships pay on passing and repassing the Sound. The trade which the inhabitants of this kingdom carry on in the East Indies, established by Christian the Fourth, is at present, and has always been, greatly against them, as they pay for all their teas, porcelaine, and East India bale goods with specie, not having any natural productions nor manufactured goods proper for those markets; and were it not for the small quantities of those goods which they send into Pomerania, Lubeck, Prussia, Courland, &c. and the teas which their merchants smuggle upon the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, which bring them some returns of specie, this country would be soon exhausted and brought to destruction by their East India trade: this trade has undoubtedly been beneficial to some individuals, but extremely prejudicial to the kingdom in general. Their small islands in the West Indies, on the contrary, have been advantageous to the

state, and are now in a very flourishing condition: they supply them with sugar, coffee, and cocoa, for their own consumption, and a small surplus which they send to Sweden. Norway furnishes them with wood, tar, pitch, fish, and iron, and Iceland with fish-oil and dried fish, which they export to Germany, France, Great Britain, Ireland, and all the southern parts of Europe. Their commerce with France, Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean States in general is greatly against them, the former taking no great quantity of their materials for ship-building, and at the same time supplying them with wines, spirituous liquors, fruits, silk, salt, and a great variety of manufactured goods. In return for their fish and oil, Germany furnishes them with different kinds of linens, grain, and some common woollen stuffs: but England and Holland, by taking off the greatest part of the productions of Norway for ship-building, and the latter the provisions of Holstein, furnish them with specie, otherwise they would be in the most wretched and distressed situation. The great number of foreign ships which pass and repass through the Sound make Elsinour a kind of market for all the different manufactured goods in Europe: every foreign ship which passes the Sound pays a duty to the king of Denmark in proportion to her size and the value of her cargo; so that having the command of this passage into the Baltic brings in between 60,000 and 65,000 pounds sterling a year to the Danish treasury. Various regulations and companies have been established at Copenhagen, for promoting the manufactures and commerce of this kingdom; such as the Insurance Company, the Iceland Company, the Bank, the African Company, and the General Company, which was established in the year 1747, for making Copenhagen the Magazine for all the Baltic sea: but from the bad conduct of the ministers, and the absoluteness of their government, from the small-

ness of the capitals employed in the undertakings, and from their being badly conducted, they are all at present at the lowest ebb: for whenever ministers of state, and those who have the power of government in their hands, enter into public commerce, they will generally be gainers, whilst the honest merchant and trader will be constantly in danger of being made a bankrupt: this has been no less injurious to the foreign commerce of this kingdom, than to her agriculture and manufactures. The great restrictions which their commerce is laid under, by the absolute despotism of the government, and by means of the custom-house, vex and oppress the merchants very much; so likewise does that restraint under which the traders are laid from entering into more than one branch of business at a time.

All such regulations are highly injurious to trade and commerce: a merchant will never enter into any great commerce in a country where his property is not secure, and where he is to be continually vexed with the tedious and unnecessary regulations of a custom-house: neither will any merchant of considerable credit enter into commerce in a country where he is denied the common rights of mankind, and where he is liable to be tyrannized over by a set of men, perhaps in most respects, greatly his inferiors, but who have, by accident or otherwise, obtained a patent of the nobility: but this has always been the case in Denmark, even when the government was supposed to be more free, and when the people were less restrained than at present.

Frederic the Fifth, whose good intentions towards promoting the welfare and prosperity of his people cannot be too much extolled, published an edict in the year 1748, and promised considerable

considerable privileges and immunities to all such foreign merchants, manufacturers, and traders as would come and establish themselves in his territories. But alas! where trade and commerce are properly encouraged in a state, such edicts are very unnecessary. This benevolent prince, as I have already observed, took every method to encourage and support the manufacturers in his states; but how much his good intentions were promoted and seconded by his ministers, I have already observed.

In the kingdom of Norway the people are more free, commercial, and industrious than in any part of the Danish dominions; and, if the government had been but moderately mild, they would soon become rich and flourishing; but the great restraint which their commerce is laid under, and the heavy taxes which the government in an artful manner forces them to pay, together with the large sums which they are obliged to send abroad yearly to buy grain for their subsistence, and the materials for their manufactures, keep the generality of the people in great poverty and distress. The government draws off all the silver which is raised in their mines, and leaves the poor inhabitants of the country very often without any circulating specie, and even the merchants and traders are sometimes so much drained of their coin by the order of government, that they have not wherewith to carry on their commerce: how is it possible therefore that a country so circumstanced can flourish by commerce?

The great duchy of Holstein, which is at present all united to the Danish dominions, is famous for its fine pasture, and for its producing excellent beef. Great quantities of horned cattle are bought up in Jutland and other provinces of Denmark, and

brought here to be fattened; and their beef, besides what is used for the consumption of Hamburgh and Lubeck, salted and dried and exported, the former to Holland, and the latter to all parts of Lower Germany; and together with an excellent breed of horses, of which great numbers are exported yearly, bring considerable sums of money into the province; of the whole of which the court of Denmark has not hitherto found the means to drain them; so that this province may justly be said to be the richest in the Danish dominions. They manufacture several kinds of coarse woollen cloths, common linens, and laces in this province; but as the price of labour of all kinds is high, and as the common people are naturally lazy and ignorant, even these common manufactured goods are sold very dear, and there is very little reason to hope that a people in such circumstances, and who are moreover in a slavish dependency upon their feudal lords, will make any great improvements in the fine arts and manufactures.

The fineness of the gold is estimated in this country as in every other part by carats, and each carat is divided into twelve grains; but that of silver is estimated by marks, which are divided into sixteen lods, which have eighteen grains each. The common money of exchange is the rixdollar, which is imaginary, or if there are any in currency at present, they are very rare: each rixdollar is divided into ninety-six skillings, or into six marks, of sixteen skillings each: the merchants in this country likewise make up their accounts by marks and skillings of Lubeck, and by rixdollars; the mark and skilling of Lubeck is of double the value of the mark and skilling of Denmark. The rixdollars which are still in currency are $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent more in value than the imaginary rixdollars, the standard silver being finer in those days.

days when these dollars were struck ; at present they are called crowns : all the sales of the East India Company are made in crowns, and the buyer is obliged to make good the $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. above the value of the imaginary rixdollars : a rixdollar in change is generally worth about four livres and ten sols of France ; two florins and three st. cur. of Holland ; twelve or thirteen copper dollars of Sweden ; one rouble of Russia ; four rixdollars are about the value of five rixdollars of the German empire ; $5\frac{1}{6}$ the value of a pound sterling. The only gold money that is coined at present in Denmark, is the ducat, of two rixdollars ; and as the exchange is at this time should be worth near eight shillings sterling, but they are valued much too high ; as the intrinsic value of one of these ducats is not above six shillings and eight pence sterling. The silver money that are coined now are pieces of twenty-four, of fifteen, of ten, of eight, of four, and of two skillings ; but even these are rare at present since there is such a quantity of small bank notes, of the value of a rixdollar, issued out of the bank. The exchange upon Hamburgh and upon Holland is of 100 and so many rixdollars of Denmark, for 100 rixdollars of Hamburgh, or rixdollars current of Holland : with England they change five rixdollars and so many skillings for the pound sterling ; and with France twenty and so many skillings for the livre Tournois.

C H A P. V.

*Of the REVENUES and RESOURCES of this Kingdom, and her
MILITARY FORCES by Sea and Land.*

BEFORE the time of Frederick the Fourth the finances of this state were in the greatest disorder and confusion; great sums of money were levied upon the people, who were oppressed and ill-treated, and very little was brought into the king's treasury: but this prudent prince established such a regularity and œconomy in collecting his revenues, as serve for the basis of the œconomical plan which is at present established in this kingdom. The board of finances, which is charged with the administration of all the king's revenues, is composed of three deputies, who exercise the function of treasurer, and six or seven counsellors: these different members must be united in all the deliberations which concern the receipt of the revenues: but the three deputies, who exercise the office of treasurer, or the treasurer himself, when those are once established, which happens sometimes, dispose of all such sums as appertain to the king; though the treasurer is always obliged to lay the opinion of the board before his majesty. In all the provinces of Denmark, the king's revenues arise partly from the crown lands, and partly from taxes: the crown lands, which are very considerable, are those lands which were heretofore appropriated to the support of the cavalry; and as well of those lands which have always been the demesnes of the crown, or which have at different times and on different occasions been united to it. All these lands are entrusted to the administration of different survivors, who receive from the farmers, by whom they are cultivated, and who in fact are the only farmers in the kingdom not bought and sold

with the land, as hath been before-mentioned, not only the yearly rent which they have agreed to pay the king as proprietor of the land, but likewise those taxes which they owe him as their sovereign, of which those superintendents every year give a particular account to the board of finances. The taxes in Denmark are established as well upon the inhabitants of the country as upon those of the towns. In the country all who cultivate the land, if they are not particularly privileged, pay different kinds of taxes in proportion to the quantity of land which they possess. For every ton of hart corn, the measure by which the Danes estimate their land, and which answers to about six statute acres in England, the cultivator pays four kinds of taxes: First, the tax of grain, which is paid partly in money and partly in the different kinds of grain; and which amounts yearly to three shillings and three pence English money, except the taxes are very high, and then it amounts to five or six shillings English every year. Secondly, a tax (called in the Danish language *Matrikel Skatten*) which amounts to about seven shillings English every year. Third, a tax upon horses, which is about one shilling and two pence every year. Fourthly, a tax upon flesh, which amounts to about nine pence English yearly, so that every poor farmer, who cultivates such a quantity of land, pays at least twelve shillings English to the government in these four taxes; but these are not all the charges which the farmer is obliged to pay, besides his yearly rent; he is likewise to pay the tithes for every thing which he cultivates; he is obliged to keep the high road in repair, which leads through his land; he is obliged to furnish horses and baggage waggons for the king, his ministers, and his officers when they travel; he is obliged to pay the expence of detaining and bringing to justice all such criminals as are taken upon his land; and he is obliged to pay a certain

certain sum yearly to the clergyman who officiates in his parish, besides the tithes: all who live in the country, and who do not cultivate the earth, or who occupy privileged lands, pay the capitation-tax.

The bailiffs, their secretaries, and all the king's officers, as well as those who live upon privileged manors, pay eight shillings English each person, so much for their wives, and so much for each of their children that is above twelve years of age: if they keep horses, they pay four shillings English for each stable where the horses are kept. The clergymen who officiate in the parishes pay for their wives, and for all their children who are above twelve years of age, about five shillings and six pence English each person, and four shillings for their horses; but they are exempted from this tax in consideration of the pains which they take to make out an exact list every year of those who are taxable in their respective parishes. The vicars, parish-clerks, and all such farmers who occupy farms which are exempt from taxes, pay for themselves, for their wives, and for all their children, about two shillings and eight pence English for each person every year; and for their horses, let their number be greater or smaller, four shillings English a year. The stewards and house-keepers of the nobility pay about four shillings English a year each person: their footmen two shillings, and their maid-servants sixteen pence English each. The day-labourers who work about the farms, and who are not in yearly service, pay four shillings, and their wives two shillings English each every year. Those tradesmen who work in the country, and only make the utensils which are necessary for farming, are exempt from this tax; but those who follow other trades pay for themselves eight shillings English a year each, and as much for their wives, and for every

person in their family : so that a poor tradesman or manufacturer pays as much to the capitation-tax, as the first of the nobility who reside in the country. These are the principal taxes which are received in the country ; and considering the poverty of the poor people in this kingdom, are very high, and collected with great rigour ; for the capitation-tax is farmed, and those who undertake it, as well as those supervisors who collect the other taxes in the country, give in their accounts yearly to the board of finances.

Among those taxes which are collected in the towns, that which is paid at the custom-house for the importation and exportation of all kinds of merchandizes, of what nature soever, is one of the principal. This heavy tax is farmed in every part of the Danish dominions, except at Copenhagen, and the contract is renewed every three years. In general the duties upon the importation of merchandizes into this kingdom are about 10 per cent. some articles are not rated altogether so high, and others are still higher ; all such articles as are used in the manufactures are exempt from this tax ; but the merchants are obliged to leave them at the custom-house, or in the king's warehouses, till they are bought up by the manufacturers, by which the former are subject to great inconveniencies, and often losses : such foreign merchandizes as are brought into this kingdom in Danish vessels pay much less duties than when they are entered from foreign vessels. Another very considerable branch of the king's revenue, which is collected in the towns, is the excise ; which is laid, as in Holland, upon every necessary of life ; this oppressive tax is likewise farmed : though the grain has already paid a tax in the country, it pays again when it comes to the mill. It would be too long to set forth the excise upon every necessary of life, and therefore

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I shall content myself with setting forth only some of the principal articles of consumption: for every barrel of Rhenish, Spanish, or Italian Wines, containing 140 bottles, they pay at the custom-house and for the excise three pounds sterling: for every ton of French wine, which contains six such barrels, brought directly from France, two pounds and ten shillings sterling; but if this wine comes from any other place it pays more: for every ton of salt, two shillings English: for every pound of tobacco, three pence English: for every head of fat cattle which is brought into Copenhagen to be slaughtered, eight shillings English; and the half that sum in every other town: for the grinding a large measure of wheat, which weighs 224 pound, three shillings and four pence: for the excise on the same quantity of malt in Copenhagen, four shillings English; in the other towns two shillings and eight pence: the tax upon spirituous liquors was always very high; but, by an edict of the year 1757, this tax was considerably increased; and by the same edict it is ordered, that every large measure of wheat, as before-mentioned, which is distilled for making spirits, shall pay to the excise ten shillings sterling; and the same quantity of barley or rye, nine shillings and four pence.

But the most oppressive tax, and indeed the most impolitic one, that was ever laid on the people in this or in any other poor country, is that which is laid upon marriages; and more especially in a country where there is a want of population. Every person in this kingdom who holds any employment, or who has any title which gives him a rank in the state, pays for being married, ten pounds sterling; those of the nobility who have no employment nor title, pay four pounds: the clergy, the citizens, the stewards of the nobility, and the free farmers, sixteen shillings:

lings: the journeymen who work at trades, eight shillings: the servants and day labourers in the towns, four shillings: it is true the common seamen, soldiers, and those country farmers who are slaves, do not pay any thing, because in general they have not so much ready money for to provide their common necessities. Another very heavy charge which is laid upon the inhabitants of the towns is, that which they pay to be exempt from the lodging of soldiers; this tax is laid upon all the houses in proportion to their size and situation: it is the magistrates of the towns, in conjunction with some of the principal citizens, who regulate this tax, and which, in case of a dispute, is submitted to the examination of a committee, composed of the deputies of all the classes of the state.

Besides these taxes which the inhabitants of every town pay to the king for the support of government, there are two other heavy taxes which they pay for the support of the town; the one is a kind of ground-rent, which every house pays in proportion to its extent, and the other is a kind of capitation-tax; both of which are regulated by a certain number of the citizens who are chosen from among the principal people of the town. The produce of these taxes is employed by the magistrates for the support of the city, and for other public expences. There is likewise a heavy tax upon all the stamped paper which is used in this kingdom: all the proceedings of their courts of justice, the commissions, and letters patent, which are made out for all kinds of public employments, and for titles; and all kinds of contracts, conventions, obligations, receipts, and all kinds of public acts, must be written upon stamped paper: bonds, and other obligations, for the value of twenty pounds sterling, may be written upon a stamped paper of no more than two shillings
English

English in value : when the sum is between twenty and sixty pounds, the stamped paper must be of the value of four shillings; which may likewise be used for any sum not exceeding 160 pounds : when the sum exceeds 200 pounds, the paper must be of the value of twelve shillings : when the sum is between 800 and 1000 pounds, the paper must be of three pounds and four shillings value : and when from 1800 to 2000 pounds, the obligation is wrote upon a stamped paper which costs eight pounds sterling : an obligation for more than the last-mentioned sum must be wrote upon a paper which costs ten pounds sterling. All kinds of receipts must likewise be written upon stamped paper, the smallest stamp for this purpose is of the value of two pence English, and the highest for two pounds eight shillings. The stamped paper upon which a patent is written, for creating a count with a county, must be of the value of sixty pounds sterling; for the creation of a baron with a barony, of the value of forty pounds. The patents and commissions for creating all the great officers of the crown and of the state, of the first class, must be written upon a paper of the value of twenty pounds : for all the state and military officers, of the second class, sixteen pounds; and diminishing with the rank and class, so that the last is only for sixteen shillings. The whole revenues of Denmark, including what is received at Elsinour, amount at present to about 6,000,000 of rixdollars, or 1,200,000 pounds sterling, yearly; and, in the present situation of this kingdom, I see no possibility of increasing the public revenue, without drawing out all money which is in circulation, and destroying the little trade which they have : it is true, the people are in one sense higher taxed in some other parts of Europe, but in no part where they are not in a better situation to pay such taxes; and if the king of Denmark was obliged to support only an army of 20,000
men

men out of his dominions, so that their pay did not return again in circulation among his own subjects, the country would be soon in the greatest misery.

The army of Denmark is composed of regular troops and of militia; the situation in which the farmers are at present is the principal cause, that the greatest part of the regular troops of this kingdom is composed of strangers, who are picked up in different parts of Germany. Before the revolution, in the year 1666, there were no foreign troops kept in constant pay in this kingdom; but, soon after this æra, Frederick the Third, who was afraid to trust the Danes, resolved to have a regular army of 24,000 men in constant pay, which was chiefly composed of foreigners: the greatest part of this army was cavalry, which were then dispersed in the country, and supported by the farmers: but when Frederick the Fourth came to the throne, he formed the project of uniting the whole body of the cavalry, which, from their being so dispersed, were then of very little use: he established twelve places, in his own lands, and in the lands which he bought for the support of the horses, and for being as it were general quarters for the men: these lands furnished the horses with forage, and the men with the greatest part of their provisions: he had six of these places of general quarters in Zealand, one in Fioni, three in Jutland, one in Laland, and one in Falster. He likewise established public schools in these places for the education of the farmers children, as well as for those of the soldiers. The Danish cavalry and dragoons, which are very well mounted, consist in eleven regiments, and each regiment in four squadrons, including the body guards; of these regiments three are generally quartered in Zealand, one in Fioni, three in Jutland, and four in Holstein. The infantry are composed

posed of sixteen regiments, of which two regiments are destined for the king's guards; and when they are complete, every regiment has two battalions, and each battalion has six companies of 100 men in a company. There are also three regiments employed in the service of the artillery; of which one is in Denmark, another in Norway, and the third in Holstein: the body of engineers is divided into three parts, each of which comprehends twenty officers of different classes. Since the last reduction of the regular troops in this kingdom the cavalry and dragoons amount to about 10,000 men, and the infantry and artillery to about 30,000.

Every person in this kingdom who possesses 360 acres of land, is obliged to furnish one man for the militia, and pay half the expence of a man for the corps de reserve: the national troops are formed out of this militia, and are clothed in uniforms; but the corps de reserve is not; neither are they called out to serve regularly; but are as a kind of resource in case of necessity. According to the regulation which was made, in the proportion before-mentioned, there are four regiments raised in Denmark; each regiment has twelve companies, and each company 150 men, exclusive of their officers and under-officers.

In the duchy of Holstein, that of Sleswic, the county of Rantzau, and the lordship of Pinneberg, the militia are raised nearly in the same manner, in proportion to the extent of land; so that in the year 1737 this tract of country raised two regiments, which made 2473 men: but in the year 1756, the king having exempted some districts from the militia, these regiments were reduced to 1832 men. There is no proper regulation yet established in that part of the great duchy of Holstein which

was lately ceded to Denmark, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst: but the kingdom of Norway forms the greatest part of the national troops of this state. I have already observed, that all the farmers in this country are free, and in general are proprietors of their own farms, and therefore the militia is raised in a different manner; except in those parts of the kingdom which are reserved for manning the fleet, and in the territories of Nordland and Finmarken, which by a particular privilege are exempt from the militia; all the rest of the country is subject to it, and is divided into little districts, every one of which is obliged to furnish a soldier or a dragoon with the horse, which the inhabitants of the district are to support. All the farmers in Norway are registered in the militia rolls, from the time they were born; and the oldest in every district are obliged to fill up the vacancies in the regiments of militia: after they have served ten or fourteen years, they are entered into the body of troops called in their language Landværn, which are kept up for the defence of their fortified places; and when they become the eldest in this corps they receive their discharge: by this arrangement there are five regiments of dragoons raised, composed of eight companies each, and each company of eighty men; and two companies of Landværn of 120 men in each company, besides officers and under-officers. The militia infantry of Norway is composed of thirteen regiments, each regiment of twelve companies of 100 men, and four companies of Landværn of 150 men each, besides officers and under-officers: they have likewise eight companies of light troops called in their language Skielobere, which by their address in running over the mountains and over the frost in pattens have been very useful to the country. The officers and under-officers of the militia are paid nearly upon the same footing with those of the regular

regular troops, but the soldiers do not receive any pay but when they are employed, and then they are paid the same as the other soldiers: though these troops cost the king very little, they are almost upon as good a footing as the regular troops; they are exercised every Sunday after divine service; and two or three times a year they are assembled to go through the great exercises. The military academy which was established by Frederick the Fourth in the year 1714, is an excellent institution for the instruction of young officers in the theory of the arts of war.

The department of war is generally entrusted to a general officer; and by the antient regulations of this country, before he is advanced in this dignity he ought to give up the command of any particular corps which he might have had, to avoid even the suspicion of partiality; but notwithstanding this regulation is recorded in their books, there is no military service in Europe where there is greater partiality than in that of Denmark: during the administration of the count de St. Germain, many good old officers who had been twenty or thirty years in the service with unblemished character, were either discharged, or had young boys placed over their heads.

This minister is the president of the chancery of war, and it is to him that all the memorials and other propositions are addressed, which concern the military establishment, the advancement of officers, the administration of justice, and the support of the discipline of the army: it is him who makes the report of it to the king, and who signifies the king's will in all such cases as do not require the royal signature; and even when the resolutions are signed by his majesty, they are countersigned by the same minister.

Every thing which regards the expences of the army, the payment and the cloathing of the troops, the supplying the magazines, the construction and the reparation of fortifications belong to the department of the commissary-general of war: this board, which is generally composed of six persons, examines all the affairs before-mentioned; and it is by the chancery of war, of which the before-mentioned minister is president, that all the resolutions of this department are to be presented to the king. His majesty has appropriated a certain sum annually for the expences of the army, fortifications, &c. but if any extraordinary expences are necessary, they are obliged to apply to the king for an order to pay them. Every officer from the colonel to the ensign is paid directly from the king, and cannot stop any thing from the pay of the soldiers: if the colonels and captains gain any thing by the cloathing of the troops, it is with the king's consent: nevertheless the pay of the captains does not consist only in their appointments, which in the horse do not amount to above five pounds sterling a month each person; and in the foot not above four pounds; they are permitted in the horse as well as the foot to dispense with the service of a certain number of soldiers, who are for the most part artizans, so that they may work at their respective trades, whilst their captains receive their pay for their own profits: this augments considerably the pay of the captains, and provides in some measure for the expence of the recruits, for which the king only allows in the cavalry fifty-two pounds sterling a year, and in the infantry only thirty pounds a year.

All the army, as well officers as soldiers, are under the jurisdiction of the military laws, even in civil as well as criminal cases; so that if an action is laid against an officer, as well as a soldier, it must be brought before the council of war: this council of war in every regiment is composed of thirteen persons;

of the colonel, who is the president, of two captains, two lieutenants, two ensigns, two serjeants, two corporals, and two soldiers, if it is a soldier that is to be judged; observing always, as much as possible, that an inferior shall never judge his superior: every class in the order before-mentioned has a voice: this council, as I have before observed, takes cognizance of all affairs both criminal and civil. The auditor of the regiment, who is generally a lawyer, directs the proceedings in criminal cases, collects the voices, and pronounces the sentence, which is afterwards sent in writing to the auditor-general, who sends it, with his opinion, to the minister of war before-mentioned, who makes a report of the whole affair to the king, when the punishment is capital: but in all civil affairs there is an appeal from the sentence of this council to an extraordinary council named by the king for this purpose, which is formed partly of general officers, and their decision is final.

The fleet of the king of Denmark is composed of thirty ships of the line, and fifteen or sixteen frigates; but many of the ships being old, and wanting great repairs, if they can send out twenty ships upon the greatest emergency, that is the most they can do: this fleet is generally stationed at Copenhagen, where are the dockyards, storehouses, and all the materials necessary for the use of the marine; where the harbour is very commodious, and where the ships are secure from the attacks or surprize of an enemy: it is defended by the difficulty which there is to enter it without the assistance of good pilots, and by two or three batteries of cannon: though it would not be very difficult to destroy all these docks, storehouses, &c. and to bombard Copenhagen by sea, when a person is well acquainted with the coasts and the soundings.

The

The seamen who are destined for the service of this fleet are of two orders; all who live upon the sea coasts, and who are bred up in the merchants service, or who apply themselves to fishing, are inrolled in classes for this purpose; and their number sometimes amounts to 30,000: they cannot go out of the kingdom without a permission from their superior, and are obliged to present themselves whenever they are required: the seamen thus inrolled, who live in the towns, receive according to their abilities from six to twelve shillings sterling every year to pay their excise; and those who live in the country villages are exempt from the capitation-tax.

The second order is composed of four divisions, and each division has a chief, and ten companies of 118 men each: they are commanded by a captain, who has two subaltern officers under him: and among the seamen there is a certain number of gunners who have their school, where they teach the seamen their art: this corps, which contains 4720 men, is recruited out of the former, is in constant pay, and is always ready, not only to man the ships of war, but to furnish workmen in the dockyards and for equipping the fleet. When they are at land they receive about nine shillings sterling every month, and as much provisions as will supply their respective families, if they are not very numerous; and a great part of them have lodgings at the king's expence.

They are all cloathed in uniforms at the expence of his majesty, which is blue cloth faced with different colours, according to their division. When these men are at sea they are paid differently, according to their capacity; some receive twenty, others twelve, and others again only ten shillings sterling a month; as they

they are divided into three classes, and are paid according to their abilities and experience. Every captain of a ship of war has the power of promoting or degrading any of the seamen who are under his command, according as he is pleased with their service, and very often great abuses are made of this privilege.

The captains of the men of war have a fixed salary of sixty pounds sterling a year, and the liberty to dispense with the service of ten men in every company, whose wages they receive for their own use: they are moreover obliged to pay the expence of bringing the recruits from the different parts of the kingdom, except forty pounds sterling which the king allows them every year for this purpose. The lieutenants and other subaltern officers have also fixed salaries; and when they are at sea, neither the one or the other have any increase of their salaries; but the king allows the captain of every ship a certain sum for his table, to which he is obliged to receive all the officers who are under his orders. The Danish ships of war are much inferior in construction to those of England and France; they are too short, and too high above the water: indeed I think they are much inferior to those of Sweden; they carry the same number of men, in proportion to their number of guns, that the French ships of war carry.

Frederick the Fourth established an academy for the instruction of cadets in the marine, which does great honour to that prince, and which, at least, instructs all their young marine officers in the theory of their art: this school was calculated for fifty cadets, who are supported by the institution; but besides these fifty there are many other young men who are admitted upon the footing of volunteers, and who are taught the same lessons.

lessons and exercises: this company of cadets is governed by an admiral, who is their captain; by a captain of a ship of war, who is their lieutenant; and by the lieutenant of a ship of war, who is their aid-major. The director of the art of navigation teaches this art, as well as all branches of the mathematics, to the students: an officer who is expert in the artillery teaches them his art: they have also masters to teach them drawing, fencing, geography, history, and many other sciences; and according to their institution, for to join the practice to the theory, they were to make a voyage to sea every year in a frigate, where they were successively to do the service of common seamen, of pilots, and of officers; and they were all to be subject to the military discipline: but all this part of the institution has been neglected, and except some officers of this kingdom who were bred up in the English or French service, notwithstanding this excellent institution, the king of Denmark would have very few marine officers in his service who were capable of commanding a ship of war. Those cadets who are disposed to apply themselves to study the construction of a ship, may do it in the school of the master-builder, who has a particular gratification for every officer that he shall have taught: and moreover, by the institution, every officer who shall attach himself to this branch, after having been examined therein before the commissioners who have this department, shall be permitted to travel at the king's expence to make himself master of his art: but the ministers and favourites take care that this, as well as many other articles of useful expence, shall come into their pockets.

The department of the marine is entrusted to commissioners, who execute the office of high admiral of the kingdom: this board is at present composed of three civil officers, of whom the
first

first is secretary of state, and chief of the department, and of three or four admirals. Every thing which concerns the fleet is discussed before these commissioners; their resolutions are laid before the king by the secretary of state, who is chief of the department, and it is he who reports the king's answer to their propositions.

All the officers and seamen who belong to the fleet, as well as all who work in the dockyards, are under the jurisdiction of a council of war in all cases both civil and criminal, which is called the Combined Court of the dockyards: this court is formed by the officers of the four divisions before-mentioned, who succeed each other, and is composed of one admiral, two captains, two captain-lieutenants, two lieutenants, and three second-lieutenants: when they are to give sentence, and to condemn a seaman to a capital punishment, or to deprive an officer of his employment, the chief of the division in which they are is president of the council of war: there is an appeal from the sentences given by this court; in civil cases, to the board of admiralty; and in criminal cases, to the auditor-general of the marine, who is a lawyer, appointed to examine the proceedings of these courts of justice, and to give his opinion on them: afterwards they are sent to the secretary of state for the marine department, who makes a report to the king. All the superior officers of the fleet must likewise be judged in all cases, both civil and criminal, by these courts; but if they have committed any great crime, they must be judged by an extraordinary council of war named for this purpose, and composed of admirals and general officers, and the auditor-general.

When the fleet is at sea the captain of every ship commands in an absolute manner all the officers and men who sail with him: he and his officers form a court-martial, and judge all the seamen who are under his command, but the sentences must be approved by the admiral; and if they sentence the criminal to be punished capitally, the execution must be deferred till it is approved by the king. With regard to the prizes which are taken in the time of war, the magistrates of every town may judge of their legality in the first instance; but at Copenhagen these cases are first tried before that court of admiralty which judges all the affairs of the civil officers of the fleet; and those who think they have a right to complain may do it, during the space of eight days, to the supreme court of the kingdom. The appeal from the sentences given in the first instance, by the magistrates of the provincial towns, must be made to the superior court of admiralty, where six judges of the supreme court then have seats.

In case of a war the military regulations which are made in this kingdom are well calculated for the defence of the country; but the king is by no means in a situation to carry on a war offensively. The nation has a very considerable debt, which, notwithstanding they have been at peace for such a number of years, has been continually increasing. I have already observed, that the ministers and favourites in the last reign, who were hungry foreigners that came there to enrich themselves, had neither inclination nor talents to do any thing for the good of the state, and therefore nothing could be expected from the administration of such creatures. But mankind were much surprized, that during the first years of the present reign, when so able and so disinterested a minister as the late monsieur de Bernsdorff directed the affairs of this state, no part of the national debt

was discharged; but on the contrary it was considerably increased, and the national credit ruined. However, in justice to this minister's memory, I must observe, that he took every possible means to make a reform in the expences of the state, and particularly of the court where there was such a scene of irregularity and pillage, as was inconceivable; and all the officers of the state had been so long accustomed to this course, that it was almost impossible, and extremely dangerous, for him to attempt any reform; and therefore he contented himself with reforming some of the troops, as they were at peace with all the world, and thought that by this means he might, although slowly, carry his plan into execution: but he was obstructed in his pursuit from every quarter.

Soon after the birth of the prince royal, when the king, by the advice of his council, resolved to travel into England, France, and other parts of Europe, every means was used to raise money, in the ordinary way, to defray the expences of this journey, but without any effect; so that at length they were obliged to borrow a large sum of money of the baron de Schimmelman, upon a mortgage of part of the revenues of Norway: and after the king's return, in the beginning of the year 1769, when a bill of exchange for near 100,000 pounds sterling was drawn from France upon the treasury of Denmark, for the payment of the manufactured goods which the king was obliged to take of that polite people during the short stay he made among them, as there was not money enough found in the treasury for the payment of that sum, they were obliged to have recourse again to Schimmelman for the greatest part of this money upon the same mortgage; so that this artful and intriguing baron is now not only become master of the greatest part of the revenues of Norway,

particularly of the mines, but he has likewise got himself to be appointed treasurer of Denmark.

In the same year it was resolved to establish a state lottery at Altona for the payment of this debt, which was to be guaranteed by the king; and as such a lottery was a new thing in this country, and the proposals fair, with at least the appearance of justice, a great number of Danes, as well as many strangers, subscribed to it upon the public faith; but how great was their disappointment and concern when they found that they had been made dupes, and that all the great prizes in this lottery fell into the hands of Moltke, Schimmelmann, some of the other ministers, and their friends: the national faith as well as the national honesty were prostituted to the avarice of those people. to complain to the king would be to bring on sudden destruction; and therefore to see their country plundered, their government discredited, and to mourn in silence was all the consolation that the honest Danes had on this occasion.

Struensee and Brandt, who afterwards, with all their supposed faults, endeavoured to correct several of these abuses, fell a sacrifice to the malice of the junto, who were sworn brothers in the robbery of their king and country: and till a prince who has greater resolution than the present comes to the throne, I believe, they will find it a difficult matter to have a minister who will undertake to reform their finances, and to rid the government of this nest of locusts.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Causes of the various Revolutions which have happened in this Kingdom; together with a brief Account of the Characters of those who acted the principal Parts in the violent Transactions which distinguished this Court in the Year 1772.

THIS ancient monarchical government has passed through a great variety of revolutions, as will be seen by the foregoing succinct history of its rise and progress, and clearly proves what I have before often advanced, that when any prince attempts to govern contrary to the natural interests and dispositions of the bulk of the people, while they are in a situation to assert their rights, his government will never be permanent; and, if he acts with violence, a sudden revolution generally finishes his career: the ancient history of this monarchy is filled with examples which verify this doctrine; but as the government was not regularly formed in the time of paganism, I shall confine myself to such examples as have happened in later ages, and of which we have more particular histories. The ancient inhabitants of Denmark, from the foundation of this monarchy, had always been accustomed to chuse such persons to be their kings as they supposed were the most capable, and worthy to hold the reins of government, giving the preference however to one of the royal family, except they had some particular dislike to that family; but before he was invested with the royal authority, he was obliged to sign a capitulation, and to promise that he would govern according to the laws then existing, and support the rights and privileges of the people: and in case that he deviated from this rule, he discharged his subjects from the oaths of allegiance which they had sworn to him, and permitted them

them to take their measures accordingly. At first the rights and privileges of every order of the people were comprehended in these capitulations; but as the kingdom became more populous, those who called themselves the nobility assumed a prerogative over the common people, and repeatedly formed the king's capitulation in such a manner, without the consent of the people, as they were often about the king's person, that he was obliged to support them in these prerogatives; and, as the people were not then in a situation to oppose them by violence, they pretended that after a certain time these royal concessions acquired the force of laws, though nothing was more contrary to the ancient constitution of the kingdom: this was the origin of that state of slavery and oppression under which the common people of Denmark groaned for many centuries, and which after many revolutions at length destroyed the ancient form of government. When the Roman Catholic clergy were invested by the power of the crown with particular privileges and prerogatives, and thereby acquired a great part of the riches of the state, they became in some measure the rivals of the nobility, and then the people had two orders of tyrants to support, and under the mask of religion, the former were still more oppressive than the latter. The power of the crown was so much limited, and the prerogatives of the nobles and clergy so much increased, by the concessions of many of their kings, that the government became more aristocratical than monarchical; the people were in a state of the most abject slavery, and the king was only the instrument to execute the resolutions of a few individuals. A government thus circumstanced could never be long supported: Margaret of Valdemar, whose great talents and knowledge of mankind enabled her to do more than any of the former kings of Denmark had ever done, endeavoured to correct these abuses, and, as much as possible, to
reduce

the government to its original state: she in some measure succeeded at last during her life-time, but her plan proved abortive during the reign of her successor, whose talents were not equal to such great designs, from there not being a proper balance between the different orders of the state; and this prince being of a character diametrically opposite to that of Margaret, could not fail to destroy the great work that she had left him to accomplish: this princess, with a great genius, often gave way in little things to the humours and passions of others, and was apparently supple and good-natured, when she wanted to carry any great point, and was moreover mistress of all that chain of reasoning, and even sophistry, which great geniuses, when they are closely pressed, will call in to their aid, and arrange in such a manner as to charm and soothe all those with whom they have to do. Eric, on the contrary, incapable of moderating his passions, and taking counsel at particular times, and in certain circumstances, followed, without any example, the instinct of his passions: the former prepared the successes of her affairs by her intrigues, and rather chose to wait for a proper moment for the execution of her plans, than to leave any thing to hazard; and by this means she always obtained what she desired; gained the affection of her people by governing them with moderation; and under the cloak of condescension was one of the most absolute princesses in the world. The other no sooner proposed a thing to himself, which might have been rational if it was properly conducted, than he pushed on with violence to obtain his ends, and never saw any obstacles till his schemes were thereby rendered abortive. The fertile genius of Margaret was so full of resources that she always gained something, when she could not obtain every thing she wished: but Eric was so obstinately determined to have every thing, that at length, by a revolution, he

he lost all that his sagacious predecessor had obtained. Instead of forming a national party to counteract the aristocratical government of the nobles and clergy, and to reduce their power within its just bounds, he loaded the people with taxes, and introduced strangers into all the principal charges in the kingdom; at the same time that he humbled the clergy, and fatigued the nobility, by his long and unsuccessful wars; such a conduct in a government of this kind could not fail of being followed by a revolution: Eric had sagacity enough to foresee this, and supposed that he could easily prevent it, by placing foreign governors in all the fortified places in the kingdom; but this served only to make his subjects hate him still more; so that at length the nobles and clergy, together with the senate, formed such a party against him that they forced him to abdicate the crown, and retire into the island of Gothland.

The aristocratical government had gained such ground when Christian the First came to the throne, and the common people were so oppressed, that the former was only the representative of a king, and the latter were in a state of slavery: the senate, which was composed of the chief of the clergy and of the nobility, held the reins of government, and, like the late senate of Sweden, directed every thing to be made out in the king's name, and often without informing his majesty what they had done. Christian soon perceived the disagreeable situation that he was in, but he had too much prudence to attempt by acts of violence to remedy the evil: master of the arts of dissimulation, and withal having a fund of good-nature, Christian endeavoured, by gentle measures, to gain over a great party of the nobility and clergy to his interest; he established the order of the Elephant to please and flatter the former, and by well-timed presents, and

and a little hypocrisy, he gained a great party among the latter. He next employed every rational method to ease the poor people of the heavy load which had been laid upon them; and by his prudence and good-nature, reigned esteemed by all his subjects, reduced considerably the aristocratical power of the nobility and clergy, and died regretted by all mankind. His son, by treading in his father's steps, reigned happily, and gained such an authority both at home and abroad, that he reduced the power of those two formidable orders within its proper bounds; but Christian the Second by his acts of violence, and the ill-timed regulations which he made against the opinion of the majority of the people, although many of them were just and equitable in themselves, lost both his crown and his liberty by a revolution; and the nobility and clergy, particularly the latter, now seeing the great power and weight which they had in the state, re-assumed their former aristocratical, hierarchical, and, I had almost said, tyrannical authority; and the government became more confused than ever: so that, after the death of Frederick the First, under the pretence of supporting the Roman Catholic religion, they kept the throne vacant for some time, and oppressed the people with impunity.

But supposing that several other circumstances had not cooperated to force the senate to relinquish their usurped authority, as the bulk of the people had always been accustomed to live under a limited monarchical government, such a tyrannical aristocracy could never have continued long; as the many acts of violence and tyranny which the senate had committed during the interregnum, accelerated the election of Christian the Third, and made that prince to be received as the deliverer and guardian of his subjects; and with the reformation which was made soon

after in the national religion, the destruction of that arbitrary, proud, and oppressive hierarchy, who had often trampled under foot all laws, both divine and human, was fully completed: but alas! Christian, who had now the power in his hands, seemed to have had very imperfect ideas of government; the people were still oppressed, and the nobles, who had now no rivals, governed every thing with an absolute authority, and the king soon found that by the destruction of the hierarchy, the nobles not only governed the kingdom with an aristocratical authority, but that they were become as so many little sovereigns in their respective estates. This prince, and his successors Frederick the Second, Christian the Fourth, and Frederick the Third, continually lost ground; so that before the revolution in the year 1660 the government was become as much aristocratical as was that of Poland, and by the different capitulations which the nobility had forced those princes to make before they were elected, the power of the crown was so limited, that the king had little more authority than the doge of Venice: moreover the Lutheran clergy and the citizens were treated with the greatest contempt, and the farmers were kept in a state of slavery, in many respects worse than that of the negroes in the West India islands.

The nobility, under pretence of their privileges, threw all the weight of the public taxes upon the common people; and the clergy, merchants, and citizens of the towns, who not being in a situation to pay them, and being exasperated to the last degree to see their country reduced to this situation, and the king so distressed, that he had not wherewith to pay his troops, nor even to procure military stores for the defence of his capital, resolved at all events to put an end to this insufferable tyranny; and rather run the risk of supporting the disagreements of an absolute

solate monarchy than continue to be thus oppressed by their fellow subjects : hence the cause of the great revolution in 1660.

I know not whether we ought most to admire the wickedness or the stupidity of the nobility, the ignorance or the impudence of the other orders : when the nobles saw how odious they had made themselves, and what the other orders were about to execute, they should have temporized and endeavoured to preserve some part of their ancient form of government, rather than suffer all their rights and privileges to be at the mercy of an exasperated master and his descendants, without any possibility of ever reducing the government to its original state. The other orders supposing they were resolved to be revenged of their former tyrants, and to sacrifice them to the resentment of the crown, should at least have made some better terms for themselves, and for their distressed fellow subjects. If they had only procured the liberty of the farmers, and placed them upon the same footing with those of Norway, mankind would have had great reason to admire their good conduct and resolution : but, in fact, both parties acted conformably to that character which has for 200 years past distinguished the Danish nation, and subjected their posterity for ever to the oppression of an arbitrary government, and to all the inconveniencies and mortifying circumstances which they have since endured : indeed the conduct of several of their princes, since that æra, has been much better than they had a right to expect ; but the best disposed princes are the most subject to be abused by those who are about them ; and the people are made to suffer all the insults of those blood-suckers who are rioting in their spoils : no reign ever perhaps produced a more striking example of this kind than that of the late king Frederick the Fifth, whose amiable qualities would

have endeared him to all his subjects, and who endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to make them happy; but I have already observed, how he was counteracted in every respect by his foreign favourite, and I might have added, by his second queen, whose conduct towards the end of his reign, and in the beginning of the present, has been so extraordinary and so full of events that I cannot quit this subject without taking particular notice of it. After the death of the first queen of Frederick the Fifth, who was a princess of England, and adored by her husband, as well as universally esteemed by all the Danish nation, it was proposed to him to marry again, although he had four or five children, to draw him out of the melancholy situation into which the loss of a person who was so dear to him had plunged him: the proposal was agreeable to him, and he was soon afterwards married to a princess of Brunswick, by whom he had a son. But as this princess learnt, by various means, that she was infinitely inferior in personal qualities to her predecessor, and saw that on all occasions her husband mentioned with pleasure and satisfaction the good qualities and perfections of his first queen, and being naturally of an envious disposition, with a phlegmatic malice, and a low cunning, which was very extraordinary in a person of her rank, she brooded over her infelicity, and smothered for the time her resentment, supposing that an occasion might present itself when she might have her full revenge. I have also observed that Frederick, and his first queen, were fond of taking every occasion to promote the happiness and welfare of their subjects, and endeavoured to establish manufactures among them; and that in return the latter had been particularly loved and esteemed by all her subjects, from the great attention she always shewed to promote the king's good intentions. This second queen, on the contrary, hated the Danes, and took every possible

possible clandestine method to counteract all that the king her husband was doing to promote their happiness. The German favourite before-mentioned was the principal instrument which she made use of to promote her designs, and his subtleness, avarice, and cunning could not be equalled, but by those of the queen: they counteracted, as I have often mentioned, every thing that the well-meaning Frederick was doing for the good of his country; they promoted Germans, as far as they dared do it, in all the principal places of trust in the kingdom, and by keeping the king almost continually drunk, during the latter part of his life, they governed with the most absolute authority. The queen, who is a hypocrite by nature, seemed to take particular notice of the king's children by her predecessor, when such persons were present as she thought would inform the king of it; but when she was among her friends and creatures, she could not contain herself from uttering all manner of abuse against them: the sole great object of her wishes, and that to which she made all the others subservient, was to place her son upon the throne, which, as the present king, being the only son the late king had by his first queen, was of a very weak and delicate constitution, she thought might be very easily done, without her appearing to take any part in so delicate an affair: but, soon after the late king died, a new scene opened which gave her the greatest uneasiness; her friend Moltke was accused by several persons with having robbed the state, and done so many arbitrary and illegal acts during the time that he was the favourite of the king and the creature of the queen, as merited death, and the confiscation of all his effects; and the present king had resolved to imprison him, and to make him give an account of his administration. Alarmed at this news, she immediately, after having gained over some of the ministers to her interest, interceded with the young king.

king in his behalf, and knowing his foible, with some difficulty she succeeded: she now pretended to have the greatest affection for the king, calling him her child, flattered him in every thing, and, clandestinely, placed such people about him as led him into all kinds of riot and debauchery; such, in fact, as the lowest of the people would not have done. Astonished at such behaviour, several of the ministers and others proposed marriage to him, not only as a political step, but from the supposition that an agreeable princess would be the only means of reclaiming him from the debauched course of life that he was fallen into, and which was so unworthy of a crowned head: the king immediately consented to it, but it was a thunder-stroke to his mother-in-law, who used every means to prevent it; and, under the mask of friendship and affection, and with the appearance of the greatest good-nature and affability, told the king he was too young to think yet of marrying, and that he had better amuse himself while he was at liberty, which he could not so well do when he was married. However, finding she could not succeed, and that the king, from the persuasions of some of his faithful counsellors, and perhaps from the novelty of the thing, was determined to marry, she all on a sudden seemed to approve mightily of his design; and when the princess Caroline Matilda came to Copenhagen, she received her with all the appearance of friendship and affection, telling her of all the king's faults, and at the same time letting her know that she would take every opportunity, as a mother, to assist her in reclaiming him: by this means she became the depository of all the young queen's secrets, whilst at the same time she placed people about the king to keep him constantly engaged in all kinds of riot and debauch, to which she knew he was but too much inclined, and at length it was so ordered, that a mistress was thrown in the king's way, which

which he was persuaded to keep in his palace. When the young queen was found to be pregnant, she could no longer contain her dislike, but when she was delivered of a prince, her resentment broke out like a fire which had been for a long time smothered: she never saw the prince with his nurses and women but she fell into a fit of rage, and before she recollected herself, treated him with all the opprobrious language that her heated imagination could invent: this, at first, greatly surprized these women, but they dared not mention any thing of it to the king, or to the queen; for the consequence of it would have been, that she would have denied it, and they would have been banished the kingdom immediately. When the king was upon his travels, this envious woman used frequently to visit the young queen; and, under the mask of friendship and affection, told her often of all the debaucheries and excesses which the king had fallen into in Holland, England, and France, and often persuaded her not to live with him: but as soon as the king returned, and when the queen reproached him with his conduct, although in a gentle manner, his mother-in-law immediately took his part, and used her utmost endeavours to persuade the king to give no ear to her councils, as it was presuming in a queen of Denmark to direct the king. At this time she had not any idea of the stories which she afterwards got her creatures to publish, relative to the queen and Struensee; and as the former had discovered her intentions, and lived now upon very good terms with the king, who was much reclaimed, she disregarded this malicious mother-in-law, and assumed herself the part which the other had always been complimented with in the administration of the public affairs: this stung her to the heart, and, like a vindictive monk, she brooded in solitude over her malice, and made the means of a conspicuous revenge the first and great object of her attention.

attention. But as things were now circumstanced, it would have been very dangerous to have executed it, without having at least some plausible reasons for so doing; especially as the king had displaced several of her friends who were about the court, who had been increasing the national debt in the time of the most profound peace, and who were rioting in the spoils of the public. Towards the end of the year 1770 it was observed, that Brandt and Struensee were particularly regarded by the king, the former as a favourite, and the latter as a minister, and that they paid great court to the queen, and were supported by her; this opened a new scene of intrigue at Copenhagen: all the discarded placemen paid their court to the queen dowager, and she became the head and patroness of the party. Old Moltke and others, who were well versed in intrigues of this nature, perceiving that they had undesigning young persons to contend with, who were not bred up in the schools of Richlieu and Mazarine, and who, though they meant well, had not the capacity of a Bernsdoff to conduct the public affairs, very soon predicted their ruin. Struensee and Brandt wanted to make a reform in the administration of the public affairs at once, which should have been the work of time, and thereby made a great number of enemies, whose interest it was that things should continue upon the same footing that they had been for some time before. After this the queen was delivered of a daughter, and as soon as the queen dowager saw her, she immediately turned her back, and, with a malicious smile, declared that the child had all the features of Struensee; on which all her friends published it among the people, that the queen had had an intrigue with Struensee, which was corroborated by the queen's having been seen to speak to this minister often in public: however all the sensible part of the Danish nation would have treated such a report as it deserved, if it had

not been published by the queen dowager, whose consummate hypocrisy had always made the people believe that she was very pious; especially as the queen's conduct and prudence respecting such matters had been hitherto much admired, considering she was living in one of the most debauched courts in Europe; but this was the last effort the queen-dowager had to exert, and if she had not succeeded, she would have fallen a victim to the rancour of her own envy and disappointment: from this moment the destruction of the queen was resolved upon, together with that of Struensee and Brandt, and all their friends; but as the queen had such powerful friends, who would not suffer her to be thus sacrificed with impunity; and as Struensee and Brandt had constantly the ear of the king, directed all the public affairs, and were protected by the queen, the carrying such a resolution into execution was thought to be too perilous, before the people of Copenhagen were more prepared for it, and before the bulk of the nation were convinced of the necessity of such a change: 10,000 false reports were now propagated by the queen-dowager and her friends against the reigning queen, whose character was represented to be as infamous as it was possible for that of any woman to be; but finding that the people did not immediately give credit to these reports, and that it required some time to make the nation believe that they were interested in them, another report was industriously spread, that the governing party had formed a design to supersede the king, as being incapable of governing, that the queen was to be declared regent, during the minority of her son, and that Struensee was to be her prime minister: every thing that Struensee did to reform the abuses of the late minister was held forth to the people as so many attacks upon and attempts to destroy the government of the kingdom: the people now began to be highly

incensed against this minister, and as he wanted to make a reform likewise in the military, he gave great offence to the troops, at the head of which were some of the creatures of the queen-dowager, who took every occasion to make all their inferior officers believe that Struensee meant to change the whole system of government. Every thing being thus prepared, and after many councils held between the dowager and her friends upon the plan for carrying this matter into execution, it was at length agreed to surprize the king, in the middle of the night, and force him immediately to sign an order, which was to be prepared before, for committing all the persons before-mentioned to separate prisons, to accuse them of high treason in general, and in particular of a design to poison, or to dethrone the king; and if that could not be properly supported, by torture or otherwise, to procure witnesses to confirm the report of the criminal conversation between the queen and Struensee: an undertaking so horrible and so big with danger could not fail to strike terror into all those who were engaged in it; because if their scheme miscarried in the execution of it, every one of them could have expected nothing better than to have been banished the kingdom for ever, and to have all their goods confiscated. The cunning Moltke, and most of the friends of the dowager, who had any thing to lose, drew back, endeavoured to animate others, but excused themselves from having any active part in this affair; and had it not been for the dowager's almost unparalleled desire of revenge, who would otherwise have died of the stings of her own envy and malice, all their contrivances would have vanished in smoke. Orders were now written in form for the king to sign, which were to be laid before him when he awaked out of his sleep, for committing the queen and all her friends to prison. The dowager with her son prince Frederick, after they had engaged Monsieur de

de Rantzau, with some mean German officers, to execute these orders, undertook to surprize the king in the middle of the night, to accuse the queen and her friends with having formed a plot to dethrone and poison him, and to force him to sign these orders, before he had time to reflect upon the consequences; but if, after all, the king should refuse so to do, the dowager and her son undertook to sign the orders themselves; and as they had the greatest part of the military of the garrison of Copenhagen, particularly the German mercenaries, at their command, to set a guard upon his majesty; but, however, things were not carried to this height; for in his first surprize the king signed the orders, which were executed in the manner before-mentioned; but when the king afterwards came to reflect upon what he had done, and wanted to speak to his queen, he was told that his subjects were so exasperated against her, that he would certainly be dethroned if he attempted it. The dowager wanted likewise to have the queen's children sent out of the way: but this was opposed by the greatest part of her friends, who thought that such a measure would lay open their intentions too much, and make all mankind detest their proceedings. Prince Frederick is the very image of his mother; but he has no more resemblance of the late good king Frederick, either in body or mind, than a Hottentot has to a polite European. Rantzau is one of those stupid brutal creatures who, when a fit of passion instigates them to it, would run their heads against a wall to injure others, without considering what the consequence would be to themselves: bred up in a constant scene of pride and ignorance, he thought that the honour of being descended from an ancient noble family, with a haughty and imperious look, were sufficient to make him be respected and esteemed as a man of fashion: the distinguishing characteristics of a rational being seem to have never made a

part of his composition: violent and impetuous in his pursuits, he thought reflection was unworthy the notice of a man of his rank, and that reason and conscience were only bugbears to frighten children and slaves: this was the poor deluded tool whom the dowager made the chief instrument in the execution of her plan; and as soon as he had served her purposes, he likewise was sent away from the court, with all the little German mercenaries who were concerned with him, to repent of their wickedness, and to teach them the truth of an old proverb, that those who engage themselves in affairs of this kind, to serve the villainy of their superiors, should always retain in their mind, that although the treason is agreeable, the traitors are always despised. Thus did this wicked, ambitious, and deceitful woman, animated by envy and malice, by a continued scene of hypocrisy and a thirst of revenge, though without any one of those characteristics which distinguish a great and enterprising soul, bring a number of innocent persons to ruin and destruction; disgrace this enlightened age, and civilized part of the globe, in which we live; and will make even the character of Christian the Second appear amiable and humane, when future ages shall compare the annals of his reign with those of Christian the Seventh.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

T H E
RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE
O F T H E
NORTHERN GOVERNMENTS.

B O O K III.

Of the Constitution, Laws, Policy, Customs, Religion,
Commerce, Revenues, Resources, and Strength
of SWEDEN by Land and Sea: With some Ob-
servations upon the Revolutions which have lately
happened in that Kingdom.

C H A P. I.

*Of the RISE and PROGRESS of the present Government in
SWEDEN.*

TH E dominions subject to the crown of Sweden have
in this and the last century been so changed by acqui-
sitions and by losses, that it will be necessary to give some
particular description of the kingdom in its present state. I shall
not take any notice of the acquisitions which were made during
the reigns of Gustavus Adolphus and of Charles the Eleventh,

nor of the losses which they sustained after the wars of Charles the Twelfth, but confine my description to the ancient kingdom of Sweden, and to the great dukedom or duchy of Finland, which have the Baltic sea and Russia on the east, Lapland on the north, the almost unpassable mountains of Norway on the west, and Denmark on the south, extending from the 55th to the 69th degree of northern latitude, and having more than twenty degrees of longitude, and consequently is a tract of country more than twice as large as the kingdom of France; but the many abatements that must be made for several seas and many great lakes, some of which are near eighty English miles long and twenty broad, for the extensive tracts that are covered with rocks and woods, and for heaths and morasses, I think it may be very justly asserted, that not the one twentieth part of this country is in a state to be cultivated. I have travelled near 700 English miles in this kingdom, and, except in the province of Scania and in some parts of Finland, I did not see twenty acres of good land lying together: the soil in those places where it is capable of being cultivated is tolerably fruitful, though seldom more than eight inches deep; it is easily plowed, and is generally best where there is the least of it, that is, in the little spaces between the rocks; and frequently the barren land, enriched with the ashes of trees which are burnt upon the spot for the making of charcoal, produces a plentiful crop; but the danger of destroying too much of the woods, which are so necessary for their iron works, has occasioned several laws to be published to limit that custom. It is true, that if agriculture had been properly encouraged, and the farmers permitted to make the most of their farms, they might have grain sufficient for their own consumption; but as things are managed at present, they cannot subsist without great importations of all sorts of grain

grain from Livonia, Courland, Pomerania, and other parts of Germany adjacent to the Baltic sea; and notwithstanding these supplies, the poorest sort of people in some of the interior provinces, when the harvest is bad, are obliged to grind the bark of birch-trees to mix with their grain to make bread, which they bake in thin cakes only twice a year, and hang them up in a dry part of their houses for use; neither do their pastures produce a sufficient quantity of provisions for the use of the inhabitants. The cattle, as in all the northern countries, are very small, neither can the breed be altered by bringing in larger from abroad, which soon degenerate, because, even in the summer, the grass is much less nutritive than in the places from whence they came; and in the winter they are often half starved for want of fodder of all kinds, which sometimes falls so short that they are forced to unthatch their houses to keep a part of their cattle alive. Their sheep are small, and bear a very coarse wool, only proper for making the common cloathing for the farmers. Their horses, especially those of Finland, although small, are hardy, vigorous, strong, nimble, and sure-footed, which is of great use to them, because of the length of their winter, and their being well calculated for sledges, the only carriages which are proper to be used in that season.

There are great numbers of wild beasts in this kingdom, particularly in the northern parts, such as bears, elks, rein-deer, hares, &c. which are hunted for their flesh, together with wolves, foxes, wild cats, &c. which are hunted for their skins. There are very few parks in this kingdom, and these meanly stocked with deer, the expences of feeding them in the winter exceeding the profit and abating the pleasure of them. Fowls of all kinds, both wild and tame, are here very plentiful and
very

very good in their kind. The principal lakes in Sweden are the Vetter, the Wenner, and the Maler: the first is in Ostrogothia, and is remarkable for the uncommon noise which it makes before any great change of the weather, and for its great depth, which in some places is above 200 fathoms, though no part of the Baltic sea exceeds fifty fathoms; it supplies the river Motala, which runs through Norköeping, near which it forms a cascade of thirty feet high: the second is in Westrogothia, from which issues the river Elve, that forms an amazing cascade of near seventy feet high, and afterwards passes by Gottenburg: the third empties itself into the sea at Stockholm; the former furnishing one side of the town with fresh water, as the other does with salt water: these, and abundance of other smaller lakes which have no vents, are very well stored with a variety of fish. These lakes are of great use for the convenience of carriages, in summer by boats, and in winter by sledges over the ice: all the iron made in the interior provinces is brought down at a small expence to the sea coasts by means of these lakes. In the middle of these lakes and on the sea-coasts of the kingdom there are a great number of islands, of which some thousands are inhabited; the rest are either bare rocks or covered with wood: Gothland, Oland, and Aland are islands of a large extent, one being near sixty English miles long, and the others little less.

The woods and vast forests which cover the greatest part of the country are for the most part of pines of different kinds, which grow upon the rocks with so little covering of earth that the principal part of their roots are bare; of beech, birch, alder, juniper, and some oak. The pines are generally very strait and tall, and easily converted into timber fit for all kinds
of

of use. In the parts near the iron mines the woods are very much destroyed, yet notwithstanding they have their charcoal by water-carriage over the lakes extremely cheap.

They had towards the end of the last century a very considerable silver mine in Sweden, which produced between 20 and 30,000 crowns of fine silver every year, and by some ancient records appeared then to have been worked for near 200 years, but now it is gone into decay and of very little value. There is also a very considerable copper mine in this kingdom, which in the last century supplied the greatest part of Europe with copper; but at present it is worked so very deep that it is become extremely expensive, and its produce is considerably diminished. The ore is very rich in copper. Formerly the yearly produce of this mine amounted to the value of 200,000*l.* Sterling, but at present it does not amount to one third of that sum, of which, as it is a royal mine, the king has one quarter part in kind, and a considerable duty upon the remainder when it is exported unwrought. The iron mines and forges are in great plenty in this kingdom, especially towards the mountainous parts, where they have the convenience of water-falls to turn their mills, and near great woods. From these mines, besides supplying the country, they export considerable quantities of bar and wrought iron to all parts of Europe, and great numbers of poor people are hereby supported; but of late years, since Russia has manufactured a considerable quantity of bar iron, their exports, especially to Great Britain, have been much diminished.

The seasons, though very regular in themselves, are not like what they are in other countries; there is very little spring or

autumn here, especially in the northern parts of the kingdom, where the winters continue for eight or nine months, and are immediately succeeded by short summers, and these again by the most severe cold, when all the surface of the earth is filled with frost, all the Bothnic gulph and a great part of the Baltic sea are frozen up; so that as they pass from Abo to Gristleham in the summer season in a packet-boat, which is about forty English miles, in the winter they pass this arm of the sea in sledges upon the ice, which in the year 1770 continued till the end of the month of April. In the north of Sweden the earth is never unfrozen in the strongest heat of the summer more than eight or nine inches deep; but the vegetation is very quick from the great and almost continual heat of the sun, and from the constant moisture which is retained in the earth by the gradual dissolution of the ice, so that grain which is sown when the frost is dissolved upon the surface is ripened and brought to maturity in six weeks. At Upsal, when the sun touches the northern tropic, it is above the horizon near nineteen hours, and makes a continual day for several weeks; and in the very northern parts of this kingdom it does not set for some weeks. In winter the days are proportionably shorter, the sun being only five hours above the horizon at Upsal; but this defect is so well supplied, as to lights, by the moon, by the clearness of the sky, by the aurora-borealis, and by the reflection of the snow, that travelling by night is as common as by day, and journeys are begun in the evening as frequently as in the morning. The want of the sun's heat is supplied by stoves within doors, and by warm furs when abroad, instead of which the common people make use of sheep-skins and other defences of the like nature, and in general are better provided with cloathing proper for the climate they live in

in than the common people of any other part of Europe; but where there is any neglect or failure in this particular, the consequence is always very dangerous and often fatal, occasioning the loss of the nose or of some other member of the body, and sometimes of life, except the proper remedy is immediately used to expel the frost when it has seized any part, which is to remain in the cold, and to rub the affected part with snow or ice till the blood is made to circulate through it again.

The Swedish territories are divided into a number of small provinces, each of which is governed by an officer whose authority comprehends that of a lord-lieutenant and sheriff together in England, except where there is a general governor, as in Finland and upon the borders of Norway, to whom the governor of each province is subordinate, and has thereby a more restrained authority: these officers are named by the king, and take an oath to keep the province for his majesty and his heirs, and to govern according to the laws of Sweden, and by such instructions as they shall receive from his majesty in council. To them and to their subordinate officers, who are all chosen by the king, the executive part of the law, the collection of the king's revenues, the care of the forests and of the other crown lands, is committed.

The principal cities in Sweden and Finland are Stockholm, Gottenburg, Upsal, Calmar, Abo, Norköeping, and two or three more which are scarcely worth naming: the other corporations are about 100 in number, which are all governed by burgomasters and counsellors chosen by the king out of their own body, or at least such as are of the quality of burghers,

as no gentleman will accept of these employments : their offices and salaries are for life, or rather during their good behaviour. The privileges of the cities are derived from the king, and are chiefly owing to the wisdom of Gustavus Adolphus.

The city of Stockholm is situated in fifty-nine degrees and twenty minutes of north latitude : about the year 1300 it was only a small island, with a few cottages for fishermen built upon it ; but when a castle was built there to stop the inroads of the Russians, and as the harbour was very convenient for commerce, it grew by degrees to surpass all the ancient cities of the kingdom, is at present the metropolis, and contains between 70 and 80,000 people. There are a great many elegant and spacious buildings in this city : the king's palace is magnificent, and so are the houses of the nobles ; both which, together with the principal churches and many of the public edifices, are covered with copper : the burghers houses in the city are built of stone and brick, but in the suburbs they are built of wood, and thereby much exposed to the danger of fire, though they have taken the greatest precaution to prevent any of the dreadful accidents which often happen by fire in other parts ; they have a fire-watch by night, who walk about for that purpose, and another particular watch which is kept in a church steeple that commands a view of the whole city ; so that as soon as a fire breaks out the alarm and signals are immediately given, and every body knows where to run and how to use their utmost endeavours to stop it. The administration of this city is vested in the hands of a governor, who is a privy counsellor, and who sits once a week in the town-house ; he presides also in the college of execution, assisted by a deputy-governor : next to him

him are four burgomasters; one for justice, another for trade, the third for the policy of the city, and the fourth has the inspection of all the public and private buildings, and determines such cases as arise on that account: with them the counsellors of the city always sit and give their votes, the majority of which decides. This city, besides being the place of royal residence and the seat of government, is in a manner the staple of Sweden, to which a great part of the goods of their own growth, such as iron, copper, brass wire, pitch, tar, masts, deal boards, pipe staves, &c. &c. are brought to be exported. A great part of the commodities imported from abroad come likewise to this port, where the harbour is capable of containing 1000 sail of ships, and has a quay near an English mile long, to which the largest vessels may lie with their broad sides in ten fathoms of water: but the greatest inconvenience is, that this harbour is more than twenty English miles from the sea, the entrance to which is very narrow and winding, and there are no tides, and during the winter season it is all frozen up. This passage is defended by several little forts, but a large ship of war would silence the principal of them in an hour.

Gottenburg is a large trading town in Westrogothia, situated upon that part of Sweden which is washed by the great ocean, and is particularly famous for its fishery and for its trade to England and Scotland: all the East-India trade of this kingdom is likewise carried on in this town, it being more conveniently situated for foreign trade than the towns in the Baltic sea, which, on account of the frost, are shut up all the winter season.

Upsal is famous for its ancient university, and for being the place where their kings are crowned by the archbishop of this diocese.

Abo is the capital of Finland, famous for its being the place where the supreme court of justice for the province is holden, and for its university.

Calmar is an ancient fortified town on the south-east side of Sweden opposite to Denmark, famous for giving name to the act which was made for uniting the three northern crowns during the reign of Margaret of Valdemar; so that this extraordinary law was always called the act of the union of Calmar.

Having given a brief account of the principal places which form the Swedish monarchy, as the very small tract of land which they have at present in Pomerania is scarcely worth mentioning, I shall now proceed to enquire into the ancient inhabitants and government of this country.

To attempt to describe exactly the time when this part of Europe as well as Denmark and Norway was first inhabited, as well as to say exactly who were its first inhabitants, would be a piece of absurdity in this enlightened age; all that we can with any degree of probability deliver respecting this matter is, that this kingdom, as well as those I have just now mentioned, appears to have been first peopled by some colonies of the Scythians, of which some account has been already given. The origin of the Swedish nation, which their historians

ascribe

ascribe to Magog, son of Japhet, whose expedition thither they suppose to be about the year 88 after the flood, is so chimerical, and built upon such uncertain conjectures, that it is impossible to give any credit to it. It is possible that the country might have been thus early inhabited, but nothing of any certainty can be known of it till the coming of Woden, who was driven out of Asia by Pompey: from this Woden all the northern nations have been ambitious to derive their extraction; with him all the Heathenish religion that prevailed in the North till the Christian religion gained ground there, and the pretended witchcraft and other arts of the like nature, were brought in, as also the custom of raising great heaps of earth upon the graves of persons of note, and engraving of funeral inscriptions, in Runic characters, upon rocks and stones, which still remain in all parts of this country. To this Woden, after his death, divine honours were paid as to the god of war. The succession of the kings after Woden is full of confusion; and except some regulations which this conqueror introduced, the government appears to have been extremely barbarous: the nation was sometimes parcelled into several little kingdoms; sometimes into two, Sweden and Gothia; sometimes subject to Denmark, and at other times master of other countries, where the Goths, who forsook their native soil, happened to transplant themselves; but when, or on what particular occasions, they made these migrations is not certainly known, nor how long they had been abroad when they joined with the Cimbri and the Vandals to attack the Roman empire.

There is the greatest probability that the Saxons, who were called into England in the fifth century, were originally a colony of the Goths, from the agreement of their language, laws, and customs;

customs; and that both the Swedes and Goths joined with the Danes and Norwegians in the invasion of England about the eighth century we are well assured from our own historians, who expressly mention them with the character of barbarous and Pagan nations; and moreover we have another proof from the many Saxon coins that are frequently found in Sweden, and even in greater variety than in England, which seem to have been the Dane-gift, or tribute, that the English nation then paid.

The Normans also, who about that æra settled in France, were a mixture of Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes. In the beginning of the ninth century the emperor Ludovicus Pius sent Ansgarius, afterwards archbishop of Hamburg, to attempt the conversion of the Swedes and Goths, who at first had very little success: but in his second journey some years afterwards he was better received, and baptized their king Olaus, who was after that martyred by his Heathen subjects and offered a sacrifice to Woden: nor did Christianity become the general religion in Sweden till the tenth century, when it was planted there by some English bishops, who were sent for thither by another Olaus, who was king both of Sweden and Gothia; but the two kingdoms were afterwards separated again, and continued so for near 200 years, till the great Gothic family was extirpated, and then the two kingdoms became united again.

We have no certain account of the government of this kingdom before the thirteenth century, when we find it an elective monarchy; and though the children and the near relations of the king generally succeeded to the crown, it was often without any regard to the birth-right and always in consequence of an election,

election, the people always reserving to themselves the right of deposing their kings whenever those princes attempted to invade the liberties and privileges of the nation. The power of the king was very much limited in those days; he could neither make war nor peace, and much less raise any money or levy any troops without the consent of the senate or of the states when they were assembled: he was not even permitted to build any new fortifications, nor to give the government of any of their castles but to native Swedes, and he would infallibly be exposed to a general revolt if he had attempted to bring any foreign troops into the kingdom; in fact, every thing that tended to extend or to strengthen his authority, was equally suspected and odious; and these people dreaded the power of their own king as much as that of their neighbours and enemies.

The revenue of the crown arose from some lands which were situated near the city of Upsal, and in a small capitation-tax. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the senate annexed the copper mines, the property of the three great lakes before-mentioned, and the right of fishing in the Baltic sea, to the revenue of the crown, and at the same time ordered that those who had acquired any uncultivated lands to hold as fiefs or the right of pasturage in the forests, should in future pay certain fines to the king, which during the civil wars between the Swedish and the Gothic royal lines they had neglected to do; moreover, as there very few crimes were punished with death by the ancient laws of this kingdom, the punishments being only fines and confiscations, these made a very considerable part of the crown revenue; the bishops and clergy afterwards claimed these fines, under pretence that they belonged to them as a kind of expiation

for the crimes of the guilty. The fiefs and the governments of the castles which were at first only given for life, and often only for a limited time, were insensibly become hereditary; the nobility who were in possession of them had ceased to pay the customary fines, without any other title than that of their own power and the weakness of the prince: the bishops and those of the clergy who possessed any of these castles had equally exempted themselves from the payment of those fines under the plausible pretext of religion, and that those fiefs were become the property of the church. Towards the end of this century the revenue of the crown was so much diminished, by the usurpations of the nobility and of the clergy, that the king had scarcely sufficient to support 500 horse.

The king was only considered as the captain-general of the army during the time of war, and as president of the senate in the time of peace. War increased his authority, especially if he was successful against the enemies of the nation; but in the time of peace he had very little more power than that of convoking the states, of proposing such affairs as were necessary for the good of the kingdom, and of executing, in conjunction with the senate, the states orders. The senate, which was generally composed of twelve of the principal persons in the state, had almost all the authority: the senators generally resided at Stockholm, the capital of the kingdom, near the king, especially if any affair of importance was in agitation. The archbishop of Upsal, the primate of Sweden, was always a senator by his episcopal dignity; the other six bishops of this kingdom had great power in the states, but they had no right to be senators but by the nomination of the king, or by the choice of the states during an interregnum. The place of senator was not

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hereditary;

hereditary, but when there was any vacancy in the senate the king nominated a person from among the principal persons in the kingdom to fill up the vacancy. The senate, which by its institution was only established as the king's privy council, extended its authority so far as even to scrutinize the conduct of the prince: the first senator assumed the right of advising the king when he passed the limits of his power. The Swedes regarded their senators as the protectors of the liberties and privileges of the nation; and it was, properly speaking, in this council that all the power and majesty of the state resided: the senate was the sovereign court of justice, and decided, conjointly with the king, every thing that respected war or peace, the latter being often nothing more than the minister of their resolutions.

The clergy possessed more property than the king and all the other orders of the state together: the archbishop of Upsal and the other six bishops supported their dignity with great lustre, being at the same time the temporal lords of their episcopal towns: besides the great property annexed to the bishoprics, which consisted in very considerable manors and fiefs, they were become masters in their respective dioceses of the succession of all the ecclesiastics who died without disposing of their property by testament, which in process of time had greatly increased their revenue; moreover they enjoyed all the fines and confiscations forfeited in their respective dioceses, which before made a part of the revenue of the crown; and they had insensibly acquired by foundations and pious legacies many fiefs of the crown: the revenue of the clergy was continually augmenting by free gifts and legacies, but it could not diminish by sales nor by alienations, both of which were expressly forbidden

by the laws, which laws were as contrary to the interests of seculars as they were useful to increase the revenues of the clergy.

The bishops knew so well how to make use of the credit that they had among the people to influence the elections, as well as of their votes in the states, that they obtained at different times many exclusive privileges, which diminished considerably the authority as well as the revenues of the prince: before they would acknowledge the king to be their sovereign, and before they would perform the ceremony of his coronation, they obliged him to swear that he would secure them in the possession of all their rights and privileges, and that he would never attempt to put garrisons in any of their castles or fortresses, and moreover that he would never re-unite to the demesnes of the crown any of the lands or fiefs which they enjoyed by what title soever; and then they made him sign a paper, in which he consented to be deposed if he violated their privileges and his oath. These haughty prelates, proud of their riches and the number of their vassals, insensibly became so many little sovereigns; they fortified their castles, and constantly kept garrisons therein; they never took any journey without being accompanied with a certain number of knights and troops; they were at the head of all the troubles and disputes which happened in the kingdom, and any differences respecting their vassals or the limits of their fiefs made them immediately take up arms against their neighbours: sometimes even they appeared at the head of an army against the king, especially if they suspected that he had any intention to re-unite to the demesnes of the crown any part of the lands which they held, although by an unjust title. The lords and gentlemen who lived in their castles made
them

them as so many little fortresses, and as the center of their dominions: they made use of their vassals as so many servants without wages to cultivate their land, and often even they armed them to rob and plunder their neighbours. The titles of marquis, count, and baron were not yet known among the Swedish nobility, any more than the hereditary names of the houses; they were only known by the arms of the family and by the names of their respective fathers, which they used conjointly with their own; they were only distinguished by their valour and the number of their vassals; they defended their interests and revenged the wrongs which they had received by force of arms; they paid no regard to the justice of the laws, because that there was no power in the state capable of enforcing the observation of them: force and violence decided almost every thing, and supplied the place of right and justice. The inhabitants of Stockholm and of the other sea-port towns, who supported themselves by commerce, were more submissive, and had a greater attachment to the king; always exposed to be plundered by the strongest party, these merchants were disgusted with this licentious and even tumultuous liberty, and would have freely consented that the king should be invested with all that authority which was necessary to enforce the observation of the laws and to restore the public tranquillity, which they easily foresaw would be the most effectual means to make their commerce flourish; but from the small number of towns which were then in Sweden, the deputies of the burghers had very little authority in the diets. The farmers, on the contrary, who have always had in this kingdom the particular privilege of sending their deputies to the states, blindly followed the motions of their lords, and defended the liberties and privileges of their respective provinces with great obstinacy. In the southern provinces,

vinces, where they had some arable and pasture land, they employed themselves in cultivating the earth; but in the more sterile provinces of the north they passed their time in hunting wild beasts, the flesh of which served them for nourishment, and their skins to pay the tribute which they owed to the prince and to buy such other necessaries as they wanted: they were extremely savage, being bred up for the most part in the woods, jealous of their customs, and as they had little else to lose, always ready upon the least pretext to take up arms and to revolt: many of them were still idolaters; others, it is true, followed the Christian religion, but it was so disfigured by a mixture of their ancient superstitions, that it was with difficulty it could be distinguished to be the Christian religion. The farmers were the most numerous and most powerful body in the state; some of them held their lands immediately under the crown, and these sent their deputies to the diet, and the others were vassals to the nobility or to the clergy; but neither the one nor the other paid but a very easy tribute to the prince, and the government was often obliged to send troops among them to assist those who collected this light tax, as they would not contribute any thing to the state but by marching to make war; and some of them even pretended that they were only obliged to defend their own frontiers, and to fight under such captains as they had chosen for themselves; moreover, they lived almost independently of every kind of government, and almost without any union among themselves, equally incapable of society and of submission, and rather savage and indocile than free.

Such a limited authority in the sovereign, so much independence in the subjects, and so little union among the different orders

orders of the state, were the great cause that the kingdom was seldom free from revolts and civil wars: aspiring to a more absolute authority, the greatest number of the kings of Sweden, supported by their friends and creatures, attempted to make themselves masters of the government and independent of the senate; but the Swedes revolted as often as any of their kings made the least attempt upon the liberties and privileges of the nation: on these occasions the least shadow or appearance of arbitrary power made all the orders of the state unite and take up arms against the king, who very often fell a sacrifice to his imprudence. The bishops supposed a prince to be too powerful when he shewed the least inclination to take possession of the lands which they had unjustly wrested from the crown, and when he was in a situation to keep them within the limits of their profession: the nobility, on the other hand, armed themselves to defend their privileges, which procured them a kind of independence; and the farmers, without knowing their proper interests, fought with the greatest obstinacy to preserve the ancient though useless customs of the state, because they were agreeable to their savage disposition. In fact, all the early ages of the Swedish history appear to have been little more than a continued scene of seditions, ravages, and revolts: the destiny of their kings was in the hands of the people, and depended a great deal upon their capriciousness, as they dethroned several of those princes who shewed the least inclination to increase their power. The great jealousy that reigned among the first families of the country did not permit them to live long without a king; they resolved always to preserve the royal dignity, but they agreed to confer it only upon strangers, to the end that having no particular interests nor alliances in the kingdom, they should

should be less powerful, and have no more authority than their subjects pleased to give them.

About the year 1364, Magnus Smeck reigned in Sweden, who had by the daughter of the count of Namur two sons; the eldest of these being dead, the inhabitants of Norway elected the second son Haquin to be their king, who was married to Margaret, or Marguerite, daughter of Valdemar king of Denmark. Magnus therefore being assured of the Norwegians, and fortified by the alliance of the king of Denmark, attempted to make himself the absolute master of the kingdom, and to abolish the senate entirely; but the Swedes having discovered the design took up their arms, and this kingdom became the theatre of a bloody war. The king of Denmark sent a powerful supply to his ally the king of Sweden, so did likewise the king of Norway his son; but the Swedes, who were always formidable when they were united and fought in defence of their liberties and privileges, defeated in several battles the troops of these three kings, and at last drove Magnus out of Sweden, and elected prince Albert of Mecklinbourg, his nephew, to be their king, without having any regard in the election to the king of Norway the son of Magnus, or to Henry the elder brother of Albert, because they had made themselves suspected and odious from the attachment which they had always shewn to the prince whom they had dethroned. Albert owed his kingdom entirely to the impatient and turbulent disposition of the Swedes, who would never suffer a prince to be absolute in their kingdom, and seemed to enter into their interests entirely till he saw himself seated on the throne, when he fell into all the measures of his predecessors, and endeavoured to make his authority absolute.

The senate was always odious to him, but having the example of Magnus before his eyes, he never attempted to abolish it; neither had he any hopes of reducing, or of gaining over the great lords, who regarded themselves rather as the guardians of the kingdom than as the counsellors of the king: however Albert, to counterbalance their authority, called to his assistance several of the princes of his house, together with several German officers, to whom he gave the command of the troops, and of the principal fortresses in the kingdom, and even made some of them senators, though both the one and the other was contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom: moreover he brought into the kingdom, under different pretences, such a number of foreign troops as gave great umbrage and dissatisfaction to his own subjects; but when he afterwards imposed considerable taxes, by his own authority, for the payment of these troops, the Swedes, jealous of their privileges, and not being accustomed to such an absolute authority, broke out into a flame, and resolved to dethrone him as they had done his predecessor.

At this time, Haquin king of Norway being dead, Margaret his widow reigned in this kingdom; the king her husband lived but a few years after the defeat and abdication of his father; and the states had given her the regency of the kingdom during the minority of Olaus her son. But this princess made herself so powerful and absolute during her administration, and at the same time was so well beloved by all her subjects, that when her son died, the Norwegians elected her as their queen, so that she quitted the title of regent to take that of queen in her own right, a title which she had only received before in right of her husband.

In the same year also Valdemar her father died, without leaving any male issue, upon which the queen sent some deputies to the states of Denmark to solicit her being elected queen of that kingdom likewise; but she was opposed herein by Henry of Mecklingbourg, the elder brother of the king of Sweden, who had married the princess Ingelbourg her eldest sister, and who persuaded himself that from being son-in-law of the late king, he should easily receive the crown in preference to a woman: but the great abilities and amiable disposition of Margaret were now so well known, that she was almost unanimously elected queen of Denmark, and immediately made Copenhagen the seat of her empire. This princess, of whom I have already given some account, joined to the ambition, which is common to her sex, such abilities, and such a knowledge of mankind, as are very rare to be found in one person: she loved pleasure, grandeur, and magnificence, but she loved them as a queen, and made them subservient to her glory, which, together with the desire of increasing her power, and extending the limits of her empire, appeared to be her predominant passions. Margaret saw, with a secret pleasure, that the Swedes were discontented with their king, and therefore she applied herself, but with great address, to make a party among the principal people of that nation: those who were ill-treated by Albert always found a retreat at her court, where they were distinguished and had pensions; she even exclaimed publicly against the attempts that this king was making to destroy the liberties and privileges of the Swedes. Albert was every day laying taxes upon the people, without the concurrence of the states or of the senate: he drew considerable sums from the clergy in form of a loan; but that which rendered him perfectly odious to the bishops and to the nobility, was the re-uniting of the one third part of the fiefs to the demesnes of the crown,
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of which the nobility and clergy had been in possession for a great number of years. This re-union was the signal of a revolt, all the Swedes united against him, and resolved to drive him out of the kingdom; intending, at the same time, to offer the crown to the queen Margaret of Denmark, from the supposition that this princess, who was already occupied in the kingdom of Denmark, would content herself with little more than the title of queen of Sweden; and moreover flattering themselves, that if she should endeavour to extend her authority too far, the Danes and the Norwegians would make a common cause with them, to keep their sovereign dependent upon the states and the senate of each kingdom. With this view they secretly sent several of the principal lords of the kingdom to Copenhagen, with an offer of their crown: Margaret received the proposition with great joy, imagining that this election would not only secure the peace of the Danish nation, but that notwithstanding the animosity which had always subsisted between the two nations, and which had been the cause of a continued scene of wars and confusion, this would be the means of uniting the two kingdoms for ever; besides that natural ambition and desire of glory which made so great a part of her character, these motives contributed not a little to make her accept the proposals of the discontented party in Sweden; and she immediately agreed with the deputies, that the nobility should take up arms, and inform the king Albert that he was deposed; that the states and the army should, as soon as possible, proclaim her publicly their sovereign; and that, in consequence of her election, she promised to send a considerable body of troops into their kingdom to support them. As soon as this treaty was signed, the Swedes raised an army against the king, informed him by a herald, that they renounced the obedience that they had sworn to him, and at the same time

proclaimed Margaret of Valdemar queen of Sweden in their camp. This princess on her side sent the succours agreed upon to join the discontented party; and, with these united forces, they marched towards Westrogothia, where Albert assembled his army: this prince had taken every measure to resist his enemies; he had assembled a considerable body of troops, called several German princes to his succour who were his friends and allies, and even engaged the island of Gotland to the knights of the Teutonic order, for 20,000 nobles of the rose, to have money to defray the expences of the war: soon after the two armies met, and the king's forces were entirely defeated, and he and all his principal officers were taken prisoners.

The princes of the house of Mecklingbourg afterwards raised some new troops in favour of this unhappy prince, and they were joined with considerable forces from the Hans-towns, which were become extremely jealous and uneasy at the power of this great queen, and the progress of her arms: but after making Sweden the theatre of war for several years, they gained no advantage, and were at last obliged to consent to a peace; whereby the king, to recover his liberty, was obliged to renounce his crown and to retire into his own country of Mecklingbourg, and Margaret was acknowledged queen of Sweden, of Denmark, and of Norway.

Seeing this princess without children, and fearing that after her death the king Albert or his son would revive their pretensions, the Swedes interceded with the queen to secure the happiness of their kingdom by an advantageous marriage; but their propositions respecting this matter were not well received: jealous of the sovereign power, she could not resolve to share it
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even with a husband; nevertheless, to satisfy them as much as possible, she resolved to adopt a successor, but at the same time to chuse him so young that, by his impatience to reign, he should not be for many years in a situation to disturb her government, and therefore she chose her eldest sister's grandson, Henry of Pomerania, whose name she changed to that of Eric, resolving to breed him up at court, and to place the three northern crowns upon his head. At this time the government of Sweden was nearly the same with that of Denmark, the king was elected in each state, the senate in each kingdom was nearly upon the same footing, and the king could not, without the participation or consent of the states, undertake any affair of great importance. The queen, after having taken sometime to gain over the principal persons in each kingdom, called together the states-general of the three kingdoms to Calmar in Sweden, to pass a fundamental law for the union of the three kingdoms under one head, as I have already observed, before whom she presented the young duke of Pomerania, and desired them to accept of him as her successor: the gravity and eloquence with which this queen presented herself, the solidity of her discourse, and the applause and credit of her friends, immediately gained the whole assembly in her favour: she set forth the great advantages that would arise to them from having but one sovereign; that her election had even terminated all on a sudden the differences that had long subsisted between them, and which would continually arise between neighbouring and powerful states; that in future they would be masters of all the commerce of the Baltic; and that the Hans-towns would never be able to take any advantage of their divisions. The states immediately consented to the election of the young duke, and passed the law for the union of the three kingdoms, which was confirmed by the most solemn oaths of all

present. The Swedes flattered themselves to have so limited the authority of their princes by this treaty, that they thought the most bold and enterprising of them would never be in a situation to make any attempts upon their liberty: but it was not long before they saw how much they had been deceived in their calculations; as the queen was too powerful, and had seen too much of their turbulent disposition to be contented with such a limited authority. As soon as this princess saw herself established in Sweden, she used all her address and politics to fix the Swedes to increase her authority and to make it permanent; but she carried on her scheme for some time so secretly, that no person had any idea of what she had in view: she removed by degrees all the Swedish gentlemen from the government of the principal fortresses in their kingdom, and gave some of them more profitable places at her court, and others governments of the same nature in Denmark, always with an apparent advantage to them; but at the same time making them entirely dependent upon her; and she gave the greatest part of the governments in Sweden to Danish gentlemen, which was contrary to the treaty of Calmar. Hereupon the Swedes, much discontented with her conduct, went in a body to make representations to the queen of the infraction of their privileges, and of the treaty of Calmar; but as she now saw herself in a situation to support authority, she told them that she would take great care to preserve the fortresses of the kingdom, and the authority that they had invested. This politic princess, supposing that a people who had been accustomed to enjoy an exclusive liberty, who were turbulent and always ready to revolt, and who fought like lions in defence of their liberties and privileges, would not easily be kept in subjection, took every politic measure to increase the number of her friends, and to form a party in the kingdom that was

capable of preventing any revolt, and of supporting her authority. For this purpose she cast her eyes upon the clergy, powerful by their great riches and the number of their vassals, and moreover considerable by the respect which the people had for religion: the queen made considerable presents to all the churches in Sweden, augmented the power, and confirmed all the privileges of the bishops; and to interest them the more in the preservation of the royal authority, she invested them with a considerable part of the government: flattered by these marks of distinction and grace, the bishops devoted themselves entirely to the interests of the court; and all the ecclesiastics of the second order followed their example, not only as being in a great measure dependent upon their superiors, but because the protection of the court, and the recommendation of the queen was the surest method to obtain a bishopric.

On the contrary the lords and gentlemen, who had been for some time jealous of the riches and power of the clergy, were extremely chagrined to see the bishops invested with this new authority; but nevertheless they were not in a situation to shew their resentment during the queen's life-time; for this princess, who was as politic as powerful, had her creatures in secret among the discontented party, who informed her of all their resolutions, and who broke all the measures they had taken to throw off her yoke.

After the death of this great princess, king Eric succeeded to the three northern crowns; but, as I have already observed, he had a character very different from that of Margaret; he gave the Swedes to be governed by strangers, treated them as enemies disarmed, rather than as subjects, loaded them with taxes, and
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filled the kingdom with foreign troops, who oppressed and robbed the people in every part; and when this was made known to the court, their complaints were rejected with contempt: finding this oppression and tyranny insupportable, the Swedes at length took up arms under the conduct of a gentleman of Dalicaria, and of Charles Canuteson, great marshal of the kingdom, renounced their allegiance to Eric, drove the Danes out of the kingdom, and elected Canuteson their protector. This lord took advantage of the misunderstanding which was then between the king and the Danes, and the Norwegians to strengthen his party, and to fortify himself in Sweden. Eric, seeing himself master of the three kingdoms, supposed that his power set him above the laws and the privileges of these nations: treated the Danes and the Norwegians in the same manner as he had done the Swedes, and pretended to reign in the most despotic manner, without having any regard for the people, who were much disposed to be his subjects, but who would not be treated as slaves: such a behaviour made the three kingdoms revolt against him; and the people in general were so much exasperated at his conduct, that he had not any faithful subjects to oppose against the revolted, and was obliged to abandon the kingdom: when the Danes immediately elected Christophle of Bavaria his nephew to be their king; and, as soon as this prince was seated upon the throne of Denmark, he demanded of the states of Sweden and of Norway to be acknowledged likewise as their sovereign, according to the treaty of Calmar. The Norwegians submitted, but the protector of Sweden, with the greatest part of the principal nobility, resolved to defend themselves, and represented to the states that the election of this prince should be rejected, as the Danes had made it without the participation or consent of their allies; however the bishops and the clergy so powerfully solicited the states
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in favour of this prince, that at length he was likewise acknowledged as king of Sweden; but his reign was not happier for the Swedes than was that of several of his predecessors, whose maxims he rigidly followed: he attached himself to Denmark, and endeavoured to reduce Sweden to be a province of this kingdom; but, happily for the Swedes as well as for himself, death prevented his designs, and the Danes elected Christian of Oldenbourg in his place, but without the concurrence of the Swedes or of the Norwegians.

This prince nevertheless pretended, after the example of his predecessor, that the election of the Danes was a sufficient title to secure him the crowns of Sweden and of Norway; but he was opposed by the great marshal Canuteson, who counteracted all his designs with the greatest firmness and courage. This lord, who had been protector of the kingdom, and who perceived that the Swedes were much disgusted with the Danish government, had secretly formed a plan to place the crown upon his own head: as being great marshal of the kingdom he was master of all the troops, as well regulars as militia, and he was governor and commander in chief of Finland, besides being one of the richest lords in Sweden.

The states being assembled at Stockholm, the great marshal came there at the head of such a number of the nobility and gentry, that it was not doubted but that he was master of the election; he began with representing to the assembly how much the treaty of Calmar was prejudicial to the kingdom, that the queen Margaret and her successors had only made use of it as a pretence to make the Swedes subservient to the Danes, and that the latter had treated the former not as their allies but as

their slaves, since they had usurped the power of giving them a king without calling them to his election; but that the Swedes merited to be treated still more unworthily if they did not break a treaty so shameful to all the nation. This discourse, which was pronounced with a great deal of force and address, awakened the hatred and antipathy which the Swedes had always bore the Danish dominion, so that they rejected the count of Oldenbourg and elected the great marshal to be their king, as a recompence for the zeal which he had always shewn to promote the interests of his country. This prince had likewise credit and abilities enough to make himself to be elected king of Norway, was afterwards crowned at Drontheim, and confided the government of that state to two of the principal lords of the kingdom.

The bishops and clergy of Sweden were strong in the interest of the crown of Denmark, since queen Margaret had preferred them in the government of the kingdom in preference to the nobility; they did not give their consent to the election of the great marshal but because they were not in a situation to oppose him, and it was with the greatest impatience and chagrin that they saw him become so powerful: he plainly saw that they were discontented, and he knew that it was because he reigned without letting them have any share in the government; but he did not act so prudently as Margaret did upon the like occasion; he now thought himself so powerful that he had nothing to fear; he even undertook to humble the clergy, and to deprive them of a part of their riches which they expended in so much pomp and luxury, and which only served to make them seditious and turbulent; for which purpose he published an order, conjointly with the senate, that an exact enquiry should be made

after all the lands and rights of the crown that had been usurped by the clergy; and it was moreover expressly forbidden, by a law of the kingdom, that any religious foundation should be made in future under any pretext whatever, to prevent the clergy and the Monks from acquiring insensibly all the riches of the state. These acts irritated all the bishops and clergy to the last degree; they treated Canuteson as a heretic, and declared publicly that this attempt upon their temporal property was to all intents and purposes an attempt against their religion; and therefore, after having engaged all their relations, vassals, and creatures in their interest, they resolved to make a revolt against the king. The archbishop of Upsal dispatched secretly a messenger to the king of Denmark to intreat his majesty to pass into Sweden, and to revive the pretensions which he had to this crown in consequence of the union of Calmar, and at the same time assured him that all the bishops and clergy would immediately declare in his favour, and receive him in their towns and in their fortresses as their sovereign.

Christian the First of Denmark was then waging war in Norway, where he had also been called by the clergy who had formed a party against the king; but this prince did not hesitate a moment to send a powerful army into Sweden to support the bishops. As soon as the archbishop heard that the Danes had appeared upon the frontiers of the kingdom, he immediately convoked a general assembly of the clergy at Upsal, where he excommunicated the king in a solemn mass which he said for this purpose, and afterwards, like a bishop of the church militant, he laid down his robes and ecclesiastical ornaments upon the altar, and swore that he would never take them up again till he had driven his king out of the kingdom: he

put on a sword and a suit of armour, and in this dress he put himself at the head of his vassals to make war against his sovereign: all the other bishops imitated his example, took up arms, as they said, to defend their liberties and privileges, and openly joined the Danish party to support the authority of the princes of that nation, who, in their absence, had abandoned all the honours of the sovereignty, and even some part of the royal authority, to them. On many occasions those prelates were seen at the head of the Danish army fighting against their own king: however, notwithstanding all these church-soldiers, and all the power of the king of Denmark, Canuteson would have had nothing to fear if he had been contented to reign with the dignity of a king and the revenues of those lands which he had re-united to the demesnes of the crown, joined to those which the kings his predecessors had possessed; but he would govern too imperiously in the beginning of his reign: he imposed extraordinary taxes upon the people to support the expences of the war, and attacked the privileges of the nobility as he had formerly done those of the clergy, without considering that it was to them that he owed his crown. Many of the most considerable lords in the kingdom abandoned his party; and the archbishop, who took advantage of this misunderstanding, beat the king's army, greatly weakened by the retreat of many of the principal nobility and their vassals, and pursued the king even to Stockholm, where he retired after the loss of the battle. Canuteson, abandoned by the nobility, without troops and provisions to support a siege, and fearing to fall into the hands of his enemies, quitted the kingdom, and retired into Prussia with a design to raise troops and to return and support his title at the head of an army. The archbishop was received into Stockholm, where he immediately proclaimed Christian king of Sweden: this prince,

prince, who was at that time in Norway, came into Sweden with all dispatch, and was acknowledged their sovereign. The archbishop flattered himself to govern the kingdom under the name of the king, but Christian shewed his dislike to this prelate's behaviour; he liked the treason, but he hated the traitor; declared publicly that he would reign himself, and gave this primate but a very small part in the administration of the public affairs. Piqued at the king's conduct the archbishop could not hide his resentment, and explained himself to Christian in terms which almost threatened another revolt: the king, who was glad of this opportunity to get rid of this savage and turbulent archbishop, ordered him to be arrested and sent under a strong guard into Denmark; whereupon the bishop of Linköping, who was the archbishop's nephew, immediately took up arms against the king, and soon raised such a formidable army as gained several advantages over the king's troops, so that Christian was not in a situation to keep the field against the bishop, but after having placed strong garrisons in all the fortresses which he held in Sweden, he retired into Denmark to form a new army.

In the mean time the bishop was master of the government, and continued to be so for near seven years while the war continued: he several times offered to receive the king of Denmark into Sweden if he would give the archbishop his liberty, but Christian was firm in his resolution, imagining that he should be able to make himself master of Sweden by force of arms. The friends of Canuteson took advantage of the division between the king of Denmark and the Swedish clergy, and gained the bishop over to their party, and made him consent to the re-establishment of this king, who thereupon returned into Sweden and remounted the throne, after having been seven years in exile; but his good fortune was not of any long duration.

Christian,

Christian, who now saw the fault that he had committed by quarreling with the clergy, became reconciled to the archbishop, gave him his liberty, escorted him into Sweden with a company of his own guards, and supplied him with military stores to raise another army against Canuteson: he could not furnish him with any troops at this time, as he was engaged in a war at home. When the archbishop returned into Sweden he blamed his nephew greatly for contributing to the restoration of Canuteson, and they two resolved to dethrone him a second time. The war began again with more fury than ever, and in a bloody battle that was fought upon the lake Marler, which was then frozen, the king's army was cut to pieces, so that he had not troops enough left to cover his retreat, and was taken prisoner, obliged to renounce the title of king, and was afterwards sent to a castle in Finland. Proud of the success of his arms, the archbishop was not pressing to acknowledge Christian for king of Sweden; his prison had opened his eyes in regard to the conduct and politics of this prince, and he resolved to enjoy the fruits of this victory himself; he divided the sovereign power with the principal lords of his party, and the kingdom fell into the greatest confusion and anarchy, having as many sovereigns as there were lords who had vassals or the command of any castles.

They made war upon each other on the most trifling occasions, and made use of the names of the kings Canuteson and Christian to give some colour to the hostile attacks which they made upon their neighbours, though in fact they did not acknowledge the authority of either of those princes. A scene of civil war, which continued for near four years, reduced Sweden to the greatest degree of misery; when this extraordinary archbishop being dead, and the people ruined by living in a state of independence,

pendence, which was the cause of all their misery, they demanded almost unanimously to have the king Canuteson placed again upon the throne, as all law, regularity, and justice were at this time trampled under foot, and the most rigid subjection was preferable to the confusion and anarchy which then desolated the kingdom. This prince now mounted the throne for the third time, and they received him as king with great solemnity; but they only gave him the title of king, with the possession of the capital, for the bishops and the lords preserved all their authority in the provinces.

Canuteson lived but a very little time after his re-establishment, and recommended Steno Sture, his nephew, to succeed him in quality of administrator of Sweden, fearing to excite the jealousy of the great lords and the bishops by a more elevated title. After his death the states approved of the choice which he had made, and the advice which he had given his successor, and in this quality they entrusted the command of the troops and the government of the state upon him. The dignity of administrator, or protector, was not, properly speaking, but a kind of commission which was granted during the interregnum, and which might be revoked at any time by the state: the administrator was the captain-general of the state, and his authority extended chiefly over the troops, and both the officers and soldiers took an oath of fidelity to him. The archbishop of Upsal, as first senator of the state, presided in all public affairs and at all the great ceremonies; all the forms of justice and regularity being in those days measured by the sword: but during the war the whole sovereign power and authority was in the person of the administrator; he had then all the authority of the king, without daring to take the title. The Swedes dreaded absolute power even to the very name of a king, and flattered themselves with greater freedom under the government of an administrator,

administrator, who had nevertheless as much legal authority as any of their kings ever had; and in fact, if he was a man of abilities, and conducted himself with prudence, enjoyed as much as he chose to have, for there was no regularity in the Swedish government at this time. Christian the First of Denmark used every expedient to abolish this dignity, and to obtain the re-establishment of the union of Calmar; sometimes he attempted to do it by negociation, and at other times by force of arms. The clergy were always in his interest, and declared openly in his favour whenever they could do it with safety.

Christian the First and his son reigned alternately in Sweden, with the administrators Steno and Suanto Sture, for four and forty years; often these princes and these lords were masters at the same time of different provinces in Sweden, according as the party of the bishops or of the nobility prevailed, and yet neither the one nor the other were entirely absolute in this kingdom, where it was necessary that the kings, in order to be acknowledged as such, should buy, at the expence of one part of their authority, the obedience of their subjects.

Such was the state of Sweden, without any regular form of government, but divided into factions, when the scene opened which formed the great revolution, and in consequence the foundation of the Swedish monarchy through the means of Gustavus Vasa, the first king of the family who are at present upon the throne.

After the death of Suanto Sture the bishops and clergy made some powerful efforts to re-establish the Danish government in Sweden, and to abolish the dignity of administrators, but they were

were as strongly opposed by the nobility and the other orders of the states, to whom the Danish government was become odious, and his son Steno Sture the younger was elected administrator, though much against the inclination of the bishops and clergy, who were at that time obliged to consent to the election, but who constantly kept up a correspondence with the king of Denmark, and informed him of every thing that passed in the government.

Christian the Second, at that time king of Denmark, whose savage character has been already represented, finding himself constrained by the laws and senate of his own kingdom, and supposing Sweden as a kingdom where by the force of his arms and the right of conquest he should one day in all probability be in a situation to make his will be received as the only law, burned with impatience till the truce which the king his father and the states of his kingdom had made with the late administrator was expired, that he might carry his arms again into this kingdom, and therefore this prince made some propositions to the archbishop of Upsal, at that time the declared enemy of young Steno, and fixed him in his interest; and through his authority and interest, together with those of the rest of the clergy, formed a great party in Sweden, as he had particularly promised them, that if he was ever acknowledged as king of Sweden he would entrust all the authority and care of the government to them. Flattered with these promises, the clergy, in an assembly which the archbishop held at Upsal, unanimously declared for the king of Denmark, and some of them even proposed to invite that prince to break the truce before-mentioned, to surprize the prince Steno, whom they treated as an usurper, though they had given their voices for his election, and that all the bishops should proclaim Christian to be their king in all the towns and villages under their obedience, and at the same time secure all their friends

and vassals in their interest. The archbishop, seeing all the clergy devoted to his interest, immediately began to place garrisons and provisions in the fortresses which depended upon the archbishopric, as if war had been already declared; a great many of his friends and all the discontented persons retired to Upsal, together with all the partizans of the king of Denmark: but all these movements, and the imprudent conduct of this prelate, soon informed the administrator what were his intentions; and as he owed the archbishopric to the good-will of this prince, it was thought that his ingratitude could not be equalled but by his wicked and malevolent disposition. Steno, irritated at his behaviour, was impatient to take up arms immediately against the archbishop, but his council opposed him, from the supposition that the least violence which he did would only fortify the party of this prelate, as he had yet no certain proof his intentions; and, on the contrary, they desired him rather to smother his resentment for some time, and endeavour to win over this turbulent churchman by mildness and good-nature. In consequence of this salutary advice, the administrator made a visit to the archbishop as to a person who owed his grandeur and power to him, and endeavoured by all kinds of kindness to bring him over to his interest, but received no other answer but menaces and reproaches. Surprized at the ingratitude of this churchman, and irritated at his menaces, he resolved to make use of his power and authority to bring him back to his duty: he convoked the states-general of the kingdom at Telli, under pretence that the truce that had been made with Denmark during his father's life-time was near at an end, but in fact with the intention of having a new declaration of his authority, of confirming it by the presence of the states, and to endeavour to find out if the archbishop's party was considerable. This prelate,

prelate, on the other hand, used every expedient to increase the number of his adherents; he even gained over the governors of Stockholm and of some other fortresses, and sent a faithful friend to Christian to inform him of every step that he had taken, and to exhort him to advance at the head of his army without paying any regard to the truce, as he might break it under many pretexts, at the same time assuring him that the governors of Stockholm and several other fortresses would immediately receive his troops and declare in his favour. Christian, notwithstanding his tyrannical disposition, was at least for keeping up some appearances and regularity; and in answer informed the archbishop that it was not enough to break the truce, but he must endeavour not only to bring the states of Denmark to consent to raise money to carry on the war, but that he must find such a pretext for breaking the truce as would justify him before his own subjects as well as before the neighbouring powers, which however he would take every measure to do. When the states of Sweden were assembled, the administrator had the satisfaction to find that the greatest part of them were the same persons who had supported his election; and seeing his party now so strong, he cited the archbishop before them to take the oath of fidelity which he owed to the crown: but this prelate, not chusing to risk his person in an assembly where the majority of the voices were against him, shut himself up in a very strong fortress near Upsal which belonged to the archbishopric, and there assembled all the bishops and all his friends, as if the assembly of the states at Telli was neither free nor legal.

At the same time John Arcemboldi, the Pope's legate, appeared in the North as a merchant of dispensations and indulgencies; he had been in Denmark and gained the confidence of

Christian, who informed him of all his designs against Sweden, of the steps which the archbishop meant to take, and of his being assured of the governors of Stockholm and of some other fortresses in that kingdom: he afterwards passed into Sweden, and as he found the administrator much more inclined to be liberal than Christian from the magnificent presents which he made him, when he complained to this apostolic messenger of the ingratitude of the archbishop, he likewise artfully added, that he was well informed of his bad designs, but that he was resolved to make him acknowledge his dignity or leave the kingdom. The legate, charmed with the liberality of the administrator, and supposing that he was at least informed of the greatest part of the secret, approved of his repentment, and informed him of all Christian's designs and of the connections which he had with the clergy of Sweden; he did not even forget the treason of the governors of Stockholm and some other fortresses: some authors have supposed that he was afraid this prince would have stopped the money for the indulgencies which he had sold if he continued to make it a secret any longer; however he desired the administrator to conduct himself towards the archbishop in such a manner that there should not be the least suspicion of his having given any intelligence of this matter, as he was equally fearful that Christian should stop the money which he had made in Denmark by the sale of his spiritual wares.

The senate and the states of Denmark were much disposed to live in peace and to continue the truce with Sweden, therefore Christian found himself much embarrassed in his affairs. The administrator, on the other hand, lost no time to prevent his enemies from carrying their designs into execution: he resolved to make use of the intelligence which he had received from the

legate, without betraying the author of it: he immediately assembled the senate, and informed them that there was a conspiracy formed against the state, and that the governors of some of the principal fortresses in the kingdom were determined to open their gates to the enemies as soon as ever they presented themselves before those places; and it was resolved that those governors should be immediately seized and accused of high-treason before the states, which were to be assembled for that purpose. In their examination before this assembly they confessed the correspondence which they had holden with the king of Denmark, and accused the archbishop as being the author and chief of the conspiracy; whereupon the administrator cited this prelate before the assembly to give an account of his conduct, and the states, highly offended at the pride and rebellion of this churchman, resolved to secure his person and to try him for high-treason according to the laws then existing in the kingdom; they desired the administrator to invest the place where he was retired, and at the same time to arrest all his friends and relations who were suspected and who were in a situation to take up arms in his favour: moreover, as the states foresaw that these measures would engage them in a quarrel with the king of Denmark, the administrator was desired to put the kingdom in a proper state of defence.

The archbishop was in the greatest despair when he found that his designs were discovered before he had time to carry them properly into execution: he complained to his friends of the king of Denmark's tardiness, and sent one of them to him with the greatest dispatch, to represent to him the danger to which he was exposed, and to press him to advance immediately at the head of his troops. The administrator, by the advice of
Gustavus

Gustavus Ericson, a young lord of great merit whom I shall hereafter have an occasion of mentioning very often, resolved to give fire-arms to all his militia, who to this time were only armed with bows and arrows: and having bought a great number of muskets at Lubec, the ship that was loaded with them to bring them into Sweden was taken by a Danish admiral; and by this act of hostility war was declared between the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the states of Denmark were so desirous of living in peace. However the administrator, though he was deprived of these succours, advanced his troops to besiege the archbishop, put himself at the head of the militia, which formed the greatest part of his army, and gave the command of the cavalry to the young Gustavus Ericson, imagining that he should be able to take the place before the Danes were in a situation to make any diversion; but he had scarcely opened the trenches before he heard that the Danes were landed near Stockholm, and were committing the greatest ravages: alarmed at this intelligence, he divided his army, leaving the infantry to form the siege; and accompanied by his friend Gustavus, and all the young nobility of the kingdom, he marched to attack the enemies, whom he met some leagues from Stockholm, where a bloody battle was fought, and by the good conduct and bravery of Gustavus, decided in favour of the Swedes: the greatest part of the Danes were cut to pieces, and those who escaped were obliged to fly to their vessels; when the administrator brought back his victorious troops to push on the siege of the archbishop's fortress, who was soon after obliged to surrender, and was condemned by the senate to resign immediately his archbishopric, and to retire into a convent to do penitence for all the disorders which his ambition had caused in the kingdom: the senate likewise ordered that this fortress, which had always served

served as a retreat to rebels, should be destroyed, and that the administrator should be thanked for the vigilance which he had employed to check this rebellion, and to assure him that all the kingdom would unite themselves to support his conduct and the orders of the senate, if the pope should unjustly undertake to re-establish the archbishop. This order was entered in all the public registers and signed by all the senators both ecclesiastic and laic; and in consequence of it the fortress was destroyed, and the archbishop was obliged to renounce his dignity: this prelate signed his dismissal before the whole senate to be sent to the pope, but at the same time he deputed one of his friends to Rome to protest against the violence that had been done him, and to implore the protection of that formidable court. The king of Denmark likewise, who saw that the abdication of the archbishop would ruin all his designs, and who was extremely chagrined and fired on hearing that his troops were defeated, took every step to irritate the Moscovites against the Swedes, and joined the archbishop in his solicitations to the pope against the administrator.

Upon the complaints of the archbishop and the solicitations of Christian, the pope ordered his legate, who was then in Denmark, to return into Sweden, and to threaten the administrator with excommunication if he did not immediately restore the archbishop to his dignity.

The legate being arrived in Sweden made known his message to the administrator, who, on his part, laid it before the senate who were almost unanimous in opposing the archbishop's restitution, and represented to the administrator that he ought not to be frightened by the thunders of the Vatican, which were
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become so common and were issued out for such infamous purposes, that the world now laughed at them; that the pope was irritated against them because they had refused to pay Peter's-pence, and in concert with the king of Denmark, he solicited the re-establishment of a rebel to make himself master of the kingdom.

The administrator upon this informed the legate, that he was much surprized that the pope should interest himself for a traitor who had merited death; that his character and dignity as archbishop could not cover him from the justice of his country; that it was thought they had shewn him favour in condemning him to a perpetual prison; and that all the other bishops had signed his condemnation; and moreover, that it was impossible to restore him without exposing the kingdom to new troubles. Convinced by these reasons, and by some presents which the administrator gave him, the legate approved the conduct of the senate, and wrote to the pope that the archbishop had merited the punishment which he had received; but this worthy pope would hear nothing in favour of the Swedes, but immediately laid the whole kingdom under an interdict, excommunicated the administrator and all the senate, condemned them to build the archbishop's fortification at their own expence, as being so very necessary for preaching the gospel and doing the other functions of such like archbishops, and moreover laid them under a fine of 100,000 ducats, which they were to pay the archbishop for his damages. The bull was sent to the king of Denmark, who was named therein to see it executed, with particular orders to treat the Swedes as disobedient, excommunicated, and opinionated schismatics.

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All the world were astonished when they heard that this bull was fulminated with so much precipitation, and more so when it was known that the king of Denmark was charged with the execution of it. To sacrifice a whole nation to support an infamous rebel was an act worthy the popes of those days: the Swedes were irritated to the last degree; they said that it was unworthy the pope, who was the common father of all the Christians, to sacrifice them and to protect a rebel and a traitor. The senate forbade, under the most severe penalties, that any attention should be paid to this bull; and the administrator made preparations to defend himself against the Danish arms, which appeared to him more formidable than all the thunders of the Vatican.

No sooner had Christian received the pope's bull, than he entered Sweden at the head of his army and put all to the sword, both men, women, and children; nevertheless, to give a colour of justice and the appearance of religion to these cruelties which he was committing to satisfy his own vengeance, he fixed copies of the bull in all the places where his troops had perpetrated the greatest violences, as if he had only been doing his duty as a faithful son of the church. Laying the country desolate wherever he came, Christian advanced to Stockholm, and laid siege to the town, supposing that the fear of excommunication and the terror of his arms would make the Swedes immediately surrender; but the garrison of the town, joining with the burghers, made such a defence that the greatest part of the Danish army was ruined before the administrator came to their assistance; and as soon as ever he appeared in sight of the place Christian raised the siege immediately, and thought of saving himself and his army on board his ships, which were entered in the port of Stockholm,

but all his rear-guard were cut to pieces or taken prisoners, and all their baggage fell into the hands of the enemy: moreover this defeat was not all that Christian suffered; he could not get out of the road of Stockholm for near three months, the winds being contrary, and almost all his provisions were consumed, so that he was obliged to make several descents to get provisions and fresh water, but was always driven back with great loss by the Swedish cavalry. At length, seeing himself reduced to the greatest distress, and his whole army ready to perish for want of provisions and by contagious diseases, he made some proposals of peace to the administrator, who, although he was not ignorant of the extremity to which his enemy was reduced, being naturally of a generous disposition, and in hopes of seeing a permanent peace established, consented to a truce, and sent the king all kinds of provisions and refreshments.

Christian, appearing to be struck with this example of generosity, sent several of the principal officers of his army into Stockholm, and thought to draw the administrator on board his ship to treat of the peace, which, from the frank and generous disposition of Steno, he would certainly have done, if the senate had not opposed it, and sent the king for answer, that they thought it would be much better that the peace should be concluded on both sides by commissioners, who might meet in some frontier town which should be agreed upon for that purpose. Chagrined that he had not drawn the administrator into the snare, Christian turned his artifices to another side: Gustavus Ericson, and some other officers of the Swedish army, were become the particular objects of his hatred for their bravery and good conduct, he therefore formed a design to make himself master of their persons, to the end that he might force the administrator to consent to the
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re-establishment of the union of Calmar to save those lords from an ignominious death which he was otherwise determined to inflict on them. In consequence of this determination he proposed to the administrator to have an interview with him in the town of Stockholm, where he would come himself with some persons of his council, provided he would give Gustavus and six other young lords as hostages; observing at the same time, that by this method they should terminate their differences much sooner than by plenipotentiaries. This proposition was immediately consented to, and the hostages embarked and conducted to Christian; but, contrary to the public faith and the law of nations, this prince ordered them immediately to be arrested and disarmed, and sent word to the administrator that he would cut off their heads as excommunicated rebels, if he did not immediately re-establish the archbishop of Upsal and the union of Calmar. Fired at this perfidious behaviour, the Swedes made preparations to attack the Danish fleet; but the wind becoming favourable Christian weighed anchor, and returned with the rest of his army and hostages into Denmark, where he used threatenings and promises to bring them over to his interest, but without any effect; so that at length, being exasperated at their refusal, he ordered them to be secretly executed. Shocked at this order, and fearing that all their officers who were prisoners in Sweden would have shared the same fate by way of reprisals, the Danes refused to execute it; and Gustavus Ericson, after being detained in prison for some time, made his escape by means of one of his relations who was settled in Denmark, and at a very critical time returned into Sweden.

Christian, on the other hand, always tormented with the passion of reducing Sweden to his obedience, and chagrined at

the bad success which he had before Stockholm, was become more violent and savage than ever; he could never pardon the administrator for the losses which he made him sustain, and took every step to raise a new army to attack the Swedes in another part of the kingdom; he laid very heavy taxes upon his subjects by his own authority, but he was opposed in it by the clergy and by the nobility, who absolutely refused to pay them, under pretext that they were not authorized by the senate nor by the states; so that Christian was obliged to demand assistance of the king of France, Francis the First, with whom he was then in friendship, and who sent 4000 men of his infantry to his assistance; these, joined to his Danish troops, made Christian's army, which was commanded by Otho Crumpin, one of the greatest generals at that time in all the North, appear very formidable even to his own subjects, who dreaded as much as the Swedes to see Christian become too powerful.

Otho entered Westrogothia at the head of this army; and as the greatest part of his troops were without any discipline, they made the most horrible ravages wherever they went. The administrator, on the other hand, advanced at the head of his army, and was followed by 10,000 farmers of this province who had joined him, and encamped on one side of a large wood, and fortified his camp with entrenchments. Otho seeing the advantageous situation that the Swedes had chosen, and the danger of attacking them, retired with great precipitation, as if he had been intimidated, and encamped with his whole army upon a great lake about three leagues off, which was at that time covered with ice, presuming that by this means he should be able to draw the Swedes out of their entrenchments: the stratagem succeeded, and Steno, led on by his great courage, followed his

his enemy, whom he thought to find in consternation and in disorder, with more ardour than precaution: he left all the Swedish infantry in their camp and pursued the Danes with his cavalry, charging them with such intrepidity that he broke and dispersed all who opposed him, and victory had already declared in his favour, when a cannon-ball carried off one of his legs: alarmed at seeing their general in this situation, the Swedes immediately fell into disorder, which, when Otho perceived, he loaded his cannon with small stones and kept up a continual fire upon the Swedish horse, who seeing themselves without a general, retired with great precipitation: they carried off the administrator upon a sledge, but he died before he arrived at Stockholm.

Steno was a young man who was very brave, but no great politician, and better calculated to be a major-general than to govern a state. Proud of this victory, Otho immediately led on his army against the Swedish infantry, who commanded the only passage that led into the heart of the kingdom, flattering himself that he should easily drive them out of their entrenchments; but the Swedes defended themselves with so much courage that they forced the Danes to retire, leaving a great number of killed and wounded at the foot of the entrenchments.

Piqued at the cowardice of his troops, Otho renewed the attack with the French infantry, and at the same time sent another detachment to attack the other side of their entrenchments: the French general was killed at the first assault, but this did not lessen the ardour of his troops, who, assisted by the counter-attack of the Danes, which divided the Swedish infantry, at length carried the entrenchments, when the Swedes,
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after making a most gallant defence and losing more than one half of their army, retired with the greatest precipitation; and thus, by the imprudence and too great impetuosity of the administrator, was the fate of Sweden determined by one battle; for all the Swedish infantry which escaped were dispersed, and endeavoured to regain as fast as possible their respective cantons and villages. Finding nothing more to oppose him, the Danish general now penetrated into the heart of the kingdom; there were neither regular troops nor militia to interrupt his march; all the people who lived in the open country, fearing the Danish barbarity, withdrew themselves, with their effects, into the most remote provinces of the kingdom; the greatest number of the senators shut themselves up in their castles, and the widow of the administrator, with his two children, retired into the citadel of Stockholm: nothing but the election of an administrator could re-establish the affairs of the kingdom: he would be in a situation to call the nobility again to arms, to raise the militia, and to rally the dispersed troops, which would be the only obstacle to prevent Christian from coming to the crown of Sweden: but the clergy used their utmost endeavours to prevent such an election, which would be so prejudicial to the interests of their beloved tyrant.

As soon as the archbishop heard of the death of the administrator he quitted his retreat, and investing himself again with all the marks of his dignity, he entered into Upsal and proclaimed Christian king of Sweden; the other bishops likewise declared openly in favour of Christian, and used their utmost endeavours in their respective dioceses to prevent the nobility from taking up arms, representing to them, that the only means to save the kingdom from destruction would be to submit
entirely

entirely to the orders of the holy pope by a good peace with Denmark; that the late administrator, by disobeying the head of the church, had justly drawn upon himself all this war and that scene of bloodshed into which he had fallen. By discourses of this nature they brought over several of the nobility to their interest, particularly those whose lands were situated near to the route of the Danish army, and who feared being exposed to the fury and pillage of this victorious enemy. They now sent a deputation to the general Otho, and demanded a truce in the name of the whole nation, assuring him at the same time that it was only to take such resolutions as would be equally beneficial to the two kingdoms, and agreeable to the king his master. Otho, who had lost the greatest part of his army, would not give the Swedes time to reflect, granted only a truce of eleven days, and moreover insisted that during this time the states should be assembled at Upsal, where he would come himself to treat of the interests of the king his master. The archbishop, as first senator of the state, convoked the assembly of the states, and the clergy used their utmost efforts to persuade the nobility and the other orders to attend or to send their deputies to this assembly; but the greatest part of the kingdom refused to hold this assembly in a town which had declared in favour of their enemies, and therefore only the bishops, three senators whom they had gained, and some few of the nobility of Westrogothia, who were intimidated by the presence of the Danish army, attended: however the archbishop opened the states, although they were only composed of his friends and creatures; the Danish general accompanied by several of the principal officers of his army attended, and in the name of his master demanded the immediate extinction of the dignity of administrator and the re-establishment of the union of Calmar, both which

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were complied with ; and this complaisant assembly even condemned the memory of those princes who had been invested therewith, as having been rebels against their legal sovereign : every person appeared to make a merit of shewing an aversion for the interest of his country, so that Otho had some difficulty to moderate the excessive honours which they shewed both his master and himself ; and to avoid giving suspicions that the treaty was not signed by traitors, or by persons who were forced to do it by violence, the general promised them, in the name of the king his master, to preserve all the laws and privileges of the kingdom, which at that time indeed were little more than what were gained by the longest sword, and to preserve punctually the conditions of the treaty of Calmar ; that all the prisoners, especially Gustavus Ericson, should be delivered without any ransom ; that the differences which had arisen between the different parties since the death of Suanto Sture should be forgotten, and that no person should be called in question on that account : whereupon the archbishop, in the name of this assembly, again proclaimed Christian as king of Sweden, as if it had been an act of the states of the kingdom ; and at the same time he wrote into all the provinces that they should receive and submit to this treaty, threatening those who refused it with the most severe punishment. The Danish general advanced his army into the other provinces of the kingdom, and set fire to the castles of those lords and gentlemen who refused to acknowledge Christian as king of Sweden ; and the archbishop, to intimidate the farmers and persons who were scrupulous, forbid the clergy to give Christian burial to those who opposed the king of Denmark, and who died with arms in their hands. By this means the greatest part of Sweden was forced to submit ; there was only Stockholm and Calmar which still held out for
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the widow of the administrator. The capital was soon afterwards invested, so that no succours could be brought to it by land or sea. Christian on hearing the news of the rapid progress of his arms in Sweden was much chagrined and inquieted, fearing that the general Otho would make use of his army, which was chiefly composed of foreigners, to make himself master of the kingdom in his name, or that the Swedes in a fit of despair, seeing themselves subjected to the Danes, should tempt him and offer him the dignity of administrator, he wrote to the general to thank him for the services that he had done him, but at the same time, to keep him to his duty, he informed him that he should very soon come into Sweden at the head of a powerful army, and form the siege of Stockholm himself.

When Gustavus Ericson heard of the fate of the Swedish army, and of the death of the administrator, he burnt with desire to defend his country and to revenge the death of his friend Steno; and knowing well that Christian would never release him whilst the war continued, notwithstanding the treaty which general Otho had made at Upsal, he made his escape from Denmark, and was transported by a vessel from Lubec into Sweden. As soon as he arrived in this kingdom he informed all his friends of it, and desired them to join him as soon as possible, and bring all their vassals with them, as he intended to force some part of the Danish army, and to throw himself into Stockholm; but all his friends, and even his relations, refused to hold any correspondence with him, regarding his design as extravagant and chimerical: they were no longer the same Swedes who were heretofore so proud and so jealous of their liberties: every one submitted to the Danish yoke. Piqued at finding such want of resolution in his friends, Gustavus

addressed himself to the farmers of the province in which he was born, hoping that those people, naturally savage and ferocious, and who had nothing to hope or to fear from Christian, would immediately join him; he went about to all their villages, and did every thing in his power to make them take up arms: but these people answered him brutally, that they should all be cut to pieces if they attempted to take up arms against so powerful a prince. Sensibly touched, and disconcerted at this answer, Gustavus saw that he had nothing to do but to retire, as there was no safety for him in Sweden but at the head of an army; besides the Danes had now received intelligence of his intentions, and sought him in every quarter: he dressed himself as a farmer, and attempted to get into Stockholm alone, hoping that his presence would encourage the garrison and the burghers, and that the resistance of this capital would engage the Hans-towns to send him succours. But the Danes pursued him so close, that he was obliged to get out of the great roads, and often to deceive the people of the houses where he rested, who thought him gone forward, to return in the same bye road that he came. At length, reduced to this extremity, he resolved to retire for some time into a convent of Monks, which had been founded by his ancestors; but these worthy sons of the church, in whose creed there was not one word of gratitude, refused to give him an asylum, and he was obliged to search after another place to hide himself; with this view he entered into the province of Sudermania, and hid himself in the house of a farmer, who had been a servant to his father, and there he staid for some months; during which time he wrote several letters to his friends, and exhorted them to take up arms; but the presence of the Danish army, and the fear of Christian, who was soon expected in Sweden,

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den, at the head of another powerful army, kept every body obedient.

Christian, on the other hand, impatient to be at the head of his army in Sweden, soon after entering this kingdom, was received by the archbishop, and all the clergy, with that joy that the happy success of their designs inspired them with: the archbishop, in particular, flattered himself that this prince would no sooner have reduced the kingdom to his obedience, but he would place the government thereof in his hands: as soon as Christian arrived, he solemnly ratified the treaty of Upsal, as if this had been the only formality that was necessary to make him king of Sweden; and afterwards summoned the widow of the administrator, and the governor of Calmar, to give up these towns, and otherwise to obey his orders: the latter immediately gave up this important place, without waiting even for a siege; but the widow of the administrator sent Christian for answer, that she could not acknowledge the enemy of her country and of her house as her sovereign, nor conform to the resolutions of an assembly that was only composed of traitors and rebels. Christian soon perceived, from the nature of this answer, that it must be force of arms alone which could make him master of this capital; and therefore he marched his whole army to form the siege, whilst his fleet blocked up the port of the town. The Danes pushed on the siege with great ardor, and the king exposed himself like a common soldier in all the works; and by his example and liberalities made the officers and soldiers expose themselves to the greatest hardships and dangers; he even caressed all the Swedish lords to prevent them from taking up arms in favour of the widow of the administrator; who, on the other hand, defended the town with much resolution and courage;

the soldiers of the garrison and the burghers, animated by her presence, not only sustained the attacks of the Danes with an extraordinary bravery, but attacked them in turn with great valor; however at length they began to want provisions, and the town was so closely invested both by land and sea, that they could not hope to be succoured, except by an army strong enough to make the Danes raise the siege. The king of Denmark having discovered their situation, summoned again the widow of the administrator to open the gates of Stockholm to him; representing to her, that it would be folly to attempt to defend the town any longer; that she could not hope to be succoured; that his troops were at the foot of the walls, and only wanted his orders to attack the town by assault; and that he should be very sorry that she should be exposed to the consequences of a town taken by storm, especially as she was at the head of a party which the pope had excommunicated: he moreover offered her to secure all her effects for her use, and that she should hold the same rank in the kingdom that she had done during her husband's life-time; that the town of Stockholm should enjoy all its privileges, and that all the prisoners should be released without any ransom: by the advice of her council, this princess entered into a treaty with the king, and the town was surrendered upon these conditions.

Soon after Christian convoked the States of Sweden to regulate the form of government, and at the same time fixed the time for his coronation: he dispersed the greatest part of his Danish troops in the different provinces of the kingdom to keep the people in obedience; and, after entrusting the government of the state to the archbishop of Upsal, and the command of his troops to the admiral Norbi, as Otho was suspected by him on account of his rapid victories, and because he was beloved by the
soldiers,

soldiers, he returned with all his foreign troops that were in his service into Denmark, where the people were ready to revolt, and absolutely refused to pay the taxes which he had laid upon them without the consent of the states or the senate. Hitherto the conduct of Christian towards the Swedes was not very blameable, but now from his own suspicions and tyrannical disposition, which was warmed by the ill counsels of some wretched favourites who were about him, he all of a sudden entertained an idea that he should never be able to reign quietly in Sweden whilst there was one senator or lord to put himself at the head of a rebellion; and therefore, agreeably to the counsels of those inhuman wretches, he resolved, as I have before observed, to destroy all the senators and principal lords of Sweden.

Christian was advised to carry this resolution into execution by the officers of the garrison of Stockholm, who were first to raise some difference or dispute between the burghers of this town and the garrison to engage them in a quarrel, and afterwards to destroy all the principal people without distinction: but this method appeared very dangerous; the burghers of Stockholm were very numerous, and had made a gallant defence against the whole army of Christian, and therefore if they beat the garrison, which was only 4000 men, it might be the signal for a general revolt in the whole kingdom; whereupon this prince chose the more prudent mask of the excommunication to accomplish his wicked design; so that when he returned again into Sweden, under pretext of religion, all the senators and the principal persons of this kingdom were massacred, and the streets of Stockholm were covered with dead bodies.

Flattering

Flattering himself that he had now fixed his authority, and seeing no person to oppose him, he changed the Swedish government as he thought proper, and treated the kingdom as a conquered country: he loaded the people with taxes, and threatened immediate destruction to those who should make the least resistance: he named the archbishop of Lundun, in Denmark, viceroy in his absence, and gave him for counsel the archbishop of Upsal and the bishop of Odensee, to whom he gave strict charge to spare no expence to discover the retreat of Gustavus, Eric's son, whose father Eric Vasa was one of the senators who had been massacred, and who he knew would one day endeavour to revenge his country's wrongs: he even promised a great reward to any person who would deliver him up living or dead; and afterwards he parted again for Denmark, loaded with the curses of all the Swedes: during his absence his troops, in the provinces, continued to exercise all manner of cruelties; many lords were by his order surprized and massacred in their own houses, without having been guilty of any other crime but that of being distinguished by their courage, or by their birth; the Danes did not any longer employ the pretext of excommunication; to be rich, or to have any credit in the province, was a crime sufficient to condemn them: the viceroy and his council thought of nothing but to amass a great sum of money by the confiscation of the effects of those who were condemned; and the officers and soldiers pursued the same practice in all the provinces. All who were not of the party of the archbishop were obliged to fly, or resolve to die, as if they had been his enemies: this honest disciple of Leo the Tenth never pardoned any person; he caused all who had adhered to the party of the administrator to be put to death, under pretence of providing for the security of the state; he used every means to find out the retreat of Gustavus,

tavus, whom he hated, as the relation and friend of the late administrator ; and knowing that he could not recommend himself more to the king than by arresting or destroying this young lord.

Gustavus, by means of his old faithful servant, soon heard of the massacre of his father, and of the principal part of the Swedish nobility, together with the reward that had been offered to apprehend him, which threw him into the greatest distress and melancholy ; he knew not what to do, nor where to go ; was surrounded with Danish troops, and was every moment in danger of being discovered : he resolved therefore, in this extremity, to retire into the mountains of Dalicaria, flattering himself that he could hide himself there in the woods, and that in time he should be able to make a revolt in his favour : dressed as a farmer, and followed by a Dalicarian, to whom he was unknown, and who served him as a guide, this young nobleman set out for the mountains of Dalicaria ; but he was no sooner arrived in this country than he was abandoned by his guide, who robbed him of all the money he had provided for his subsistence, and was forced to travel through those mountains without company, money, or credit ; and without even daring to make himself known. At length, to gain a livelihood, and the better to hide himself, he was obliged to hire himself to work in the bottoms of the copper mines, supposing that no person would think of searching for the heir of one of the first families in Sweden, and the general in chief of their cavalry, in such a miserable situation ; however he was soon discovered by a gentleman in the neighbourhood, with whom he had passed a great part of his youthful years in the university of Upsal, who generously offered him his house ; which Gustavus accepted with joy, and lived with him several days, as if he had nothing more in view than to be hidden from the pursuits of his enemies ; but he applied himself

himself with great assiduity to find out the forces of the province, and how the inhabitants were disposed with regard to the new government. His friend soon learnt him that the Dalicarlans suffered the Danish government with the greatest impatience; that they murmured loudly against the taxes that the king had laid upon them; and that they detested the cruelty and inhumanity of the Danes. This discourse gave great pleasure to Gustavus, who took the occasion to lay himself open to his host, and to intreat him to enter into his designs, and to raise the province in arms against the Danish government. Alarmed at such an enterprize, this gentleman excused himself from entering into this hazardous undertaking, and asked Gustavus where were the forces necessary to make head against the enemies? and what army he had to support such a great design? However, seeing Gustavus constantly in the resolution of taking up arms, and declaring openly against the Danes, this gentleman desired him at least to defer his enterprize till a more favourable opportunity offered, when the officers of Christian would force the provincials, who were jealous of their ancient customs, to a revolt, and then would be the time to head them, and to lead them on to action.

Gustavus very soon discovered that this discourse was dictated more by irresolution and timidity than by prudence; and as he had not the least suspicion that his host favoured the Danes, nor that he was capable of betraying him, he regarded all this caution and prudence with an eye of pity, and soon after quitted his house, travelled for several days through woods, and almost deserts, and at length arrived at the house of another gentleman, whom he had known in the army, and in whom he hoped to find more resolution and courage. This gentleman received
Gustavus

Gustavus with all the marks of respect and deference, and appeared to be sensibly touched with his unhappy situation; he detested the tyranny of the Danes; and when, after some days, Gustavus made the first overture to him to form a party, and to raise the provincials in arms, he entered apparently into the design with much ardor. Charmed with finding a Swede who, in his distressed situation, had resolution enough to attach himself to his fortune, Gustavus laid open his most secret resolutions to him: but this perfidious wretch, under the specious colour of zeal and affection for his service, studied how he might betray him and give him up to his enemies, in hopes that he should thereby make his court to Christian, and gain the recompence which this prince had offered to those who delivered him into his hands; under pretence of engaging others to enter into his interests, this false Dalicarian went immediately to a Danish officer, who was in the neighbourhood, and informed him of the retreat of Gustavus, and of his designs. The officer commanded a guard, and ran with all diligence to arrest him: but the wife of this gentleman, whom Gustavus had inspired with more tender and generous sentiments, discovered her husband's intentions, and sent this young nobleman, under the direction of a faithful servant, to a clergyman of her acquaintance at some distance from her house; and by this means the Danes lost the object of their hatred, and her perfidious husband the recompence of which he thought himself sure.

This clergyman received Gustavus with all the respect and consideration that was due to a person of his rank, and to the recommendation of her who had sent him to his house: he was a phenomenon among the clergy; an honest man, full of zeal for the good of his country; and as he did not aspire to the first

dignities in the church, he was not tempted to deviate from the paths of virtue to attain to them: he assured Gustavus of being faithful to his interests; and fearing that the servant who had conducted him to his house should discover him, he hid him in a part of his church, of which he alone had the key and the disposal: he passed the greatest part of his time with this young nobleman in his retreat; and after having given him an exact account of the state of the province, and of the different interests of the principal people in it, they agreed together that to succeed in this design it would be necessary to dispose the people insensibly to a revolt by the means of reports, which should be spread, of the Danes being ready to establish new taxes in the province by force of arms. The clergyman undertook this task, and assured Gustavus, that by the great correspondence which he had with almost all the clergy in the province he would soon make the news public.

Soon after there was to be a public assembly of some hundreds of the farmers at a feast at some leagues distance from thence, to which the clergyman persuaded Gustavus to go, and at the same time he informed the principal people of the place of his coming. This young nobleman was received with great respect among these people; and when he found them warm with mirth, he began with informing them of Christian's barbarities, of his having massacred all the nobility, and the greatest part of the burghers of Stockholm; of his having resolved to destroy all those who opposed or who were in a situation to oppose his designs; that they were not ignorant how much he hated the Dalicarlans, whose courage and intrepidity he had often experienced during the reign of the late administrator; that they were consequently too formidable not to have every thing to fear from a prince
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so cruel and perfidious ; that it was now well known, that under pretext of winter-quarters he intended to march a large body of troops into their province, to disarm them, and to deprive them of their most precious liberties and privileges, which their fathers and their ancestors had preferred even to life itself ; that the eyes of all Sweden were upon the measures which they should take, and were ready to join them as soon as they made any efforts to defend their liberties and privileges ; that he was come among them to offer them his life and fortune to defend their and their country's liberties ; and that he was assured of great succours from the ancient allies of Sweden.

The Dalicarlians, who had never before heard of the massacre of Stockholm, were by this discourse excited to the greatest fury, and swore to revenge the blood of all their countrymen ; and therefore, without much deliberation, Gustavus formed a body of 400 men out of this assembly, and led them immediately against the governor of the province, to prevent his opposing the revolt of the other cantons ; but the better to hide his design, he led them secretly through the woods, and attacked his castle in the night ; some Danish soldiers, who composed the governor's guard, were cut to pieces, and the castle was taken by escalade. The governor's effects, and the effects of some Danish merchants who were there, were given up to the Dalicarlians.

The noise and success of this expedition, and the praises which these farmers gave of the good conduct of Gustavus, made almost all the province rise in his favour ; many Swedish gentlemen, who were retired into this province from the cruelties of Christian, came and joined his army, as there was no other place where they could have any security, and were made

officers to command this militia, who fought with more fury and impetuosity than order. With these forces he over-ran all the northern provinces of Sweden, and increased his army considerably; he fortified the passes of the mountains to prevent his being surprized or attacked to a disadvantage, abolished all the taxes which Christian had laid upon the people, and appointed commissioners to receive the common tribute, which he destined for the subsistence of his troops: he sent messages to all the nobility in Sweden to prepare for a war, and as soon as he entered into their respective provinces to take up arms immediately in his favour; and moreover, by secret negotiations, he gained over the greatest part of the Swedish officers who served in the Danish army.

The viceroy and the archbishop, who were only occupied in amassing money to live in luxury and pleasure, were terribly alarmed when they heard of this revolt, dreading the courage and resentment of Gustavus, and still more the indignation of Christian, who was terrible in his wrath. The viceroy immediately dispatched a messenger to inform Christian of the revolt in the northern provinces, and at the same time called together all the Danish troops which were dispersed in the different parts of the kingdom; but all the foreign troops in the Danish service absolutely refused to march, and made themselves masters of the towns and castles in which they were in garrison in the name of the king of Denmark, but in fact to keep them for themselves till their arrears were paid, and to treat advantageously with the victorious party. The news of this revolt gave Christian much inquietude, especially as he was not in a situation to give any succours to his viceroy: he had offended the clergy of Denmark by the praises which he daily gave of Luther,

Luther, who had just now begun to preach against the extravagances of the Romish clergy; and since the massacre of Stockholm he had made several attempts upon the lives and properties of his Danish subjects, and thereby was become odious to them. He dared not even retire from Copenhagen, fearing a revolt in his capital; therefore all he could do was to write to the viceroy to march against the rebels with what troops he had, and to threaten Gustavus with putting his mother and sister, whom he carried off as hostages into Denmark, to the most cruel death, if he did not immediately disband his army. Gustavus, without being alarmed at these threatenings, advanced with his army, which was now 15,000 men, besides the garrisons which he had left in some small towns in Westermania, and met the viceroy, at the head of his Danish troops, near the castle of Westeras, who, seeing the resolution of Gustavus and the Dalicarlians, retired with great precipitation, leaving the field of battle to the enemy, and threw himself into this castle; but not believing himself to be yet in safety, fearing to be besieged in this place, and not daring to confide in the Swedes who were in his army, he left a strong garrison to defend this castle and returned to Stockholm, where he shut himself up in the citadel.

Gustavus, having now no enemy in the field to oppose him, marched directly to besiege the castle of Westeras, capital of Westermania, which embarrassed him not a little, because it would be very dangerous to leave such a strong garrison behind him; and on the other hand, as the greatest part of his troops were composed of undisciplined militia, who were very proper for a coup de main, but were not at all calculated for a formal siege against a numerous garrison, having neither powder nor
cannon.

cannon, he was afraid that this siege would continue too long, disgust the Dalicarlians, and ruin all his designs; therefore, to draw himself out of this embarrassment, he resolved to make use of one of those stratagems which give great generals the advantage over those of an inferior genius, though the latter have apparently the greatest force: he detached all his cavalry under the command of one of his friends, with orders to advance through a wood that was near and to take a post within a quarter of a league of the town; he left another officer with the greatest part of his infantry behind a mountain; but at the same time he ordered him to follow him slowly, but to keep out of the sight of the people of the town, whilst he himself advanced at the head of 3000 of his best infantry, as if these troops composed his whole army; and as soon as he came within sight of the town he began to intrench himself as fast as possible, as if he was afraid of being attacked, and avoided coming to an engagement; or as if he waited for some troops to join him. As soon as the Danes perceived all these motions, and the few troops he had with him, they immediately detached all their cavalry to attack him, as Gustavus had foreseen; but after a very slight resistance he ordered a retreat, although in good order, to gain some narrow passes, and to draw the enemy insensibly off from the town. Seduced by this retreat, which the Danes, knowing the impetuosity of the Dalicarlians, looked upon as a flight and a general retreat, all the garrison rushed out of the town in a very tumultuous manner to pursue the enemy whom they thought entirely defeated, so that they only left the Swedish troops which were in their service in the place, and some Danish troops in the castle, which the governor prevented from going out.

When

When Gustavus had drawn them so far off from the town that his horse could execute his orders, he ordered his troops to stand, and turning towards his Dalicarlians, he spoke to them in a resolute tone, and desired them to remember the cruelties and oppressions of their tyrants, and that now was the time to vanquish, or be made slaves for ever. The Dalicarlians answered with the cries of vengeance and fury, and after pouring a shower upon the Danes, attacked them sword in hand with such intrepidity, that the disciplined infantry of Christian was forced to give way to their undaunted bravery; it is true, they retired in good order and endeavoured to regain the town; but now they found themselves flanked by Gustavus's horse, so that the greatest part of the Danish army was cut in pieces, and the Dalicarlians entered the town with the Danes who escaped the slaughter, as all the Swedes who were in the service declared for Gustavus as soon as they could do it with safety. The governor of the castle was now summoned to surrender, but finding him firm and resolved to defend the place to the last extremity, Gustavus contented himself with blocking up the fortrefs with a part of his army; as he dared not hazard attacking it by storm, nor wait to form a regular siege, which would give the Danes time to rally their forces, he threw up entrenchments about the place to prevent the garrison from receiving any succours, and took the field again with the rest of his army.

The news of this defeat of the Danish army was as the signal of a revolt throughout the whole kingdom; the greatest part of the nobility either armed their vassals and declared openly for him, or else sent him succours privately; so that seeing himself at the head of a powerful army, this intrepid general resolved to undertake several enterprizes at one time, to the end that the

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news

news of his conquests might fill the Danes with the greater terror, and make the whole kingdom declare in his favour before Christian could send the viceroy any succours.

Whilst some of the lieutenants of Gustavus carried on the war against the Danes and their partizans in several of the provinces, this general attacked and soon after carried the town of Upsal, and then dispatched an officer to Lubeck to inform the magistrates of that city, which was then very considerable, of the success of his arms against Christian, and to demand succours against their common enemy. Gustavus was absolutely in want of their fleet to besiege Stockholm and of some regular troops to support a war, for he could never think of reducing the kingdom while the capital was in the enemy's hands, and he could never reduce that capital without a fleet; but these republicans, seeing the courage and elevated genius of Gustavus and the rapidity of his conquests, began to dread the consequences of his greatness as much as they had done the violence and barbarity of Christian, so that Gustavus could gain nothing from them; but happily his agent engaged a German colonel with 1200 men to enter into his master's service, and to embark immediately for Sweden.

The rapid progress of the arms of Gustavus filled all the North with admiration; but in the middle of all his conquests he saw himself abandoned all on a sudden by the greatest part of his troops: it being in the month of July (1521) the Dalicarian farmers demanded leave to return into their own province to gather in their harvest; and as these men served only as volunteers, Gustavus, notwithstanding the necessity of his affairs, could not refuse their request, but granted it immediately, on condition that as soon as the harvest was over they would return again, and bring others with them: the general reserved

reserved only one company of cavalry, and 600 chosen Dalicarian infantry with him, to guard the town of Upsal, which was full of the friends and vassals of the archbishop, who was very soon informed of the forces and situation of his enemy; and as Upsal was not a place to sustain any siege, he demanded troops of the viceroy to go and surprize Gustavus in the town; promising, at the same time, to bring him prisoner to Stockholm; and with this force he marched so secretly, and with such expedition, that he thought to surprize Gustavus in Upsal, and notwithstanding this general had spies in the archbishop's army, he was advised of this march only two hours before the Danish army arrived: whereupon, finding that he could not make head against the archbishop, nor defend the place with so few troops, he filed off his infantry towards a forest that was near, and covered his rear guard with his cavalry; and though he was closely followed by the Danes, he gained the forest, with only the loss of ten or twelve men. Fired at this check, Gustavus resolved to make the archbishop pay dear for his presumption, and ordered immediately a great body of his troops, under the command of one of his lieutenants, to join him; and receiving, at the same time, the 1200 Germans, he resolved to surprize the Danes in turn; and for this purpose he detached a great body of men to encamp in a large wood which was near the road that led from Upsal to Stockholm; and with the rest of his army he encamped near an old castle which was the other side of the road, and entrenched himself with great care, as if he was afraid of the archbishop, and as if he had only the same number of troops which he led out of Upsal.

This prelate, proud of the advantages which he supposed he had gained, soon after left Upsal to return to Stock-

holm ; and, as Gustavus had foreseen, marched with all the confidence that he could have marched in if he had his enemy prisoner in his army. As soon as the Danes advanced near the wood where Gustavus's lieutenant was concealed, they were attacked and flanked with this body of troops : the archbishop surprized at this unexpected attack, retreated and would re-enter the town of Upsal, but he found the corps of troops commanded by Gustavus between him and the town: this able general, as soon as the archbishop had quitted the place, followed him at a distance, so as to get the Danes between two fires, when the greatest part of their army was cut to pieces ; and this prelate, who presumed he was in a situation to bring Gustavus prisoner to Stockholm, had the greatest difficulty to escape, and bring back the one sixth part of his troops to this city. Gustavus entered again into Upsal, at the head of his victorious troops, where he heard frequent conferences in the university respecting the doctrines of Luther, which the Germans had brought with them into Sweden : some Swedish clergy, who were likewise instructed in their doctrines, preached them publicly in the churches, and declaimed loudly in their sermons against the abuses which the clergy and the monks made of their power and of their riches ; they were heard with great attention, as there were few persons who were ignorant that the ambition of the bishops was the cause of all the confusion and bloodshed which had almost desolated the country.

The greatest part of the professors and scholars of the university had adopted this new doctrine, which began to spread itself very fast in the kingdom. Gustavus heard these disputes with a secret satisfaction, and was charmed that the bishops were so opposed by a party of the clergy, who made a merit of condemning

denying their riches and temporal power. However he disguised his sentiments upon this matter; and, as soon as possible, assembled his whole army, and invested the town of Stockholm. The viceroy and the archbishop dreading the resentment of the burghers, and fearing to fall into the hands of Gustavus, retired into Denmark with the greatest precipitation, with the intention, as they said, to hasten the succours that Christian had promised them: this prince, it is true, had used all his efforts to send an army into Sweden; but the Danes, who detested his government and his enterprize, absolutely refused him all kinds of succours, under pretext that they were exhausted by the length of the war: the governor, whom the viceroy had left in Stockholm, kept such good order in the town, and arranged his forces in such a manner, that the burghers could not undertake any thing in favour of Gustavus; and when the latter summoned him to surrender the town, he soon perceived that he had to do with an honest and gallant officer. But, on the other hand, he received accounts daily of the surrender of the different parts of the kingdom, where he placed garrisons and established good order: he soon after assembled the states of the kingdom to give some form to the government, and to establish his authority, which to this time he only held by the election of some Dalmatian farmers, and by the power of the sword. The greatest part of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, who escaped the massacre of Stockholm, and who were not awed by the Danes, appearing at this assembly, when Gustavus represented to them, with much grace and eloquence, the distressed situation of the kingdom, and the necessity that there was to elect an administrator, who was capable of shaking off the Danish yoke and tyranny; that the troops of Christian, which were still in the kingdom, were rather hid than fortified in the places which

remained in their power ; and therefore it was necessary to pursue these intimidated enemies with vigour, and then they might be vanquished by their own fear.

Afterwards he informed them, with a great deal of modesty, that he did not pretend that his services should at all direct them in their choice ; and that he would be the first to acknowledge him among them whom they should elect, and be contented with the station or rank wherein they should place him ; and moreover would always be ready to expose his life for the good of his country.

The states only answered this discourse by the praises which they bestowed upon him for his valour, and for his moderation ; and they would have unanimously elected him king of Sweden, but he absolutely refused this honour, as not being proper in the present situation of the kingdom ; and informed them, that as they were pleased to declare in his favour, he would accept, after the example of his predecessors, the quality of administrator only, as being the most convenient to the state of his fortune. Whereupon he was unanimously elected as administrator, and all the states immediately took the oath of fidelity to him in that quality. As soon as Gustavus received this new dignity he prosecuted his conquests with greater vigour, by means of a supply which they had likewise granted him : but the Danes were still masters of the capital, and of some provinces of the kingdom ; and the administrator had no fleet to push on the siege of Stockholm. Happily for him the king of Denmark was in as much distress as he could possibly be, as the Danes had refused him every thing. The castle of Westeras, which had been blocked up for a considerable time, surrendered to the administrator,

strator, together with the several other considerable fortresses; but by a powerful supply which Christian sent into the port of Stockholm, under the command of the admiral Norbi, his troops were obliged to raise the siege of the capital.

The administrator now clearly saw that he should never be able to succeed in his designs, nor make himself master of Stockholm, without a fleet to block up the port: he therefore immediately dispatched his secretary to Lubeck, to hasten the succours of troops and ships which this republic had promised him. The secretary was favourably received and heard: the magistrates of this town had heard of the raising of the siege of Stockholm: and supposing that the defeat and loss of the administrator's army had been equal to what the Danes had published, these republicans wished to prevent him from being ruined, as much as they wished to prevent him from being independent; and therefore they granted the succours which the secretary demanded, with the view of perpetuating the war between these two powers, and of profiting by it. They engaged to send immediately a fleet of eighteen men of war, with 4000 land troops into Sweden, victualled and paid for one year; but they demanded of the administrator, that he should, in the name of the states of this kingdom, oblige himself to pay 60,000 marks of silver for fitting out this armament: and supposing that the kingdom was not immediately in a situation to pay this sum, that the merchants of Lubeck should have an exclusive commerce in Sweden, and be exempted from all kinds of custom-house duties; that Gustavus should not make either a peace or a truce with Denmark without the concurrence of this republic; and that if it was attacked by Christian, that the administrator should be obliged to enter Denmark at the head of 20,000 men to make
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diversion. These conditions appeared very hard to the administrator, however his situation was such that he could not do without the succours of the republic, and therefore he complied therewith, and the fleet arrived in the port of Suderkoping on the 11th of June 1522. These foreign soldiers were charmed with the behaviour of the administrator towards them; and after they had taken the usual oath of fidelity, he ordered them to join the Swedish army which he had before Stockholm; at the same time he fitted out all the Swedish ships that he could to join the Lubeck squadron, and to cruize before the port of this city, to prevent any succours from being thrown into the town. They had not kept the seas many days before they perceived a large convoy of provisions, which the Danish admiral had sent from Finland to supply the town and garrison of Stockholm, with only two frigates for their convoy, as the Danes had not heard that the Lubeck fleet was at sea, which was surrounded and forced to surrender without much loss on either side. The Danish admiral was extremely chagrined to hear of the loss of this convoy; and therefore he equipped his fleet with the greatest expedition, and parted from Finland, where he had been for some time before, with another convoy, to relieve the garrison of Stockholm. The administrator had kept the port blocked up by the Lubeck and Swedish fleets, so that no succours could be thrown into the town: the Danish admiral met these fleets at the entrance of the harbour, and a great cannonading ensued, which lasted for a whole day; and the Danes hoped to renew the combat the next day, as their fleet was not so much damaged as were those of Sweden and Lubeck: but as there was an unfavourable appearance of bad weather coming on, the Danish admiral retired a little, and anchored upon a sandy ground, near a small island which was not above half an English mile from

the continent; and was surprized in the night to find his ships fixed by an extraordinary and violent frost, which often comes on in these seas at the approach of winter, so that the sea is frozen over for some leagues from the shore; as soon as Gustavus was informed of this remarkable event, he resolved to go and set fire to the ships; and for this purpose he took with him the troops of Lubeck, who were encamped on the side of the town next to the harbour, and whom he supposed to be more proper for this kind of work than the Dalicarlans, of which the greatest part of his army was composed. He marched his troops upon the frost, till he came to the island near which the Danish fleet lay surrounded with ice; and then gave orders for them to advance, under the darkness of the night, as near as they could to the enemy's ships. When the Danes perceived their enemies approaching they kept up a continual fire of cannon and musketry, and made a gallant resistance; but notwithstanding all their efforts, several of their ships were burnt, and they would have not saved one, if the general who commanded the troops of Lubeck had not been bribed, and ordered his troops to retire, under pretext that they were too much exposed to the enemy's fire. Next day the wind came about to the south, and it being only the middle of November, and the winter season not much advanced, the frost dissolved the following day, and the Danish admiral got off without any more loss, to the great mortification of Gustavus, who now perceived that there was no dependence to be placed upon such allies. However he dissembled his resentment, as he was still in want of their fleet to block up the port of Stockholm, sent their troops into winter quarters, and with his Dalicarlans, who were more habituated to the cold of the climate, and to encamp in the snow, he besieged the town in form, and pressed the garrison so close, that there was no possibility of receiving any kind of succours.

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The Danish admiral having been informed of the extremity to which the place was reduced, resolved to hazard another battle as soon as the sea was clear from ice, and the navigation free; and was consequently preparing a powerful armament for this purpose, when he was informed of the revolution in Denmark against Christian the Second, as has been before described, which made him abandon Sweden, and the design which he had to succour Stockholm: he left a small garrison in Calmar, where he was governor, and retired with all his fleet to the island of Gotland, of which he was likewise governor, under pretext to keep it for Christian; but, in fact, to keep it for himself. Gustavus, taking advantage of his retreat, soon made himself master of Calmar; and soon after the abdication of Christian all the kingdom threw off the Danish yoke, except the capital and some places in Finland. The garrison of Stockholm, weakened by the length of the siege, without pay, without provisions, and without any hopes of being relieved, made some propositions to surrender; but the administrator, contrary to his usual moderation, refused their proposals, the chief of which was to be paid their arrears since they were in the place. This prince, who was as great a statesman as he was a general, saw that Christian, hated by all mankind, ran from place to place to beg succours to re-establish himself in Denmark; and, at any rate, could not possibly be in a situation to give him any trouble in Sweden for many years: he likewise knew his own countrymen, and was afraid that the taking of Stockholm, and the peace which would naturally follow, would produce ingratitude with security; and that having no common enemy, his countrymen would be divided among themselves about his election and his authority, as he was now resolved to accept the crown which they had before offered him: before he would therefore accept of the capitulation
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for the capital, he convoked an assembly of the states at Stregnez, where all the deputies of the provinces, and the other orders of the states, attended in great impatience to see Gustavus, whom all the nation esteemed as the hero and guardian angel of his country: they first proceeded to the election of senators, to supply the place of those who had been destroyed in the massacre of Stockholm; but the administrator had abilities and credit sufficient to get those persons elected whose interest was combined with his.

The speaker of the states next represented to the assembly the necessity of electing a king, and recommended Gustavus to them as a prudent and active prince, who almost by his own personal qualities had delivered Sweden from the tyranny and oppression of the Danes; and who had shewn such great abilities, and such a love for his country, that it would be an act of the greatest ingratitude and injustice on their part, and they must be blind to their own interests if they hesitated a moment to give him the title and authority of king. This discourse was received with the greatest applause by all the assembly, who unanimously proclaimed Gustavus king of Sweden; the senate, and all the orders of the states, immediately took an oath of fidelity to him, and would also have crowned him at the same time; but this politic prince, who had other things still in view, put off this ceremony for some time, under pretence that he was obliged to return as soon as possible, to push on the siege of Stockholm; but in fact because he thought that he was not yet sufficiently established upon the throne, to refuse taking the oaths upon this occasion, which the clergy had always demanded with great exactness of the former kings, for the preservation of their rights and privileges, and which had been the means of

increasing the power and riches of this body of men, who were in consequence of it the authors of all the troubles and civil wars, that had almost desolated the country for more than a century. Gustavus invited several of the states deputies, and all the senate, to accompany him to the army, that they might be present at the taking of Stockholm; the garrison of which, pressed by hunger, and threatened by the burghers of the town, had frequently desired to capitulate; but, by the king's secret orders, his general officers had prolonged the negotiation, so long as the assembly of the states lasted. However, as soon as the governor heard of the election of Gustavus, and of his return into the camp before Stockholm, he sent new deputies to him, and offered to surrender the town upon his own conditions. This generous prince only demanded that they should put into the hands of his officers, the money, papers, and other effects of Christian, of his viceroy, of his admiral, and of the archbishop of Upsal; and then he permitted the garrison to go out with their arms and baggage, on condition however that they should not serve against Sweden, nor against his allies, for six months; and with regard to the inhabitants of the town, he promised them with pleasure to preserve all their rights and privileges.

Gustavus being now master of the capital, and of all the territories of Sweden, except two or three small places in Finland, began to exercise the functions of a king, and to establish some regularity and form of government in his kingdom, which till this time had been constantly in a state of confusion, civil war, and almost Gothic barbarity: he dispatched his orders into all the provinces to demand obedience to his authority, and established governors in all the fortresses and provinces in the kingdom; he gave audience to all with great condescension, receiving

ing some with honour, and all with kindness: he endeavoured to polish the manners and customs of the principal people in the kingdom, by giving the example in his court; and by an æconomical magnificence, which was little known in those days, to draw insensibly the nobility and gentry of Sweden from their castles, where they acquired a ferocity and brutality in their manners, and to engage them, by an extraordinary expence, to attach themselves to the court, and to the prince, to have wherewith to support it.

The archbishop of Upsal, who had remained in Denmark since the abdication of Christian the Second, was extremely chagrined when he heard that Gustavus was elected king of Sweden; he had now no hopes of ever returning to his archbishopric; he lived obscurely at Copenhagen, despised by the Danes, and forgotten by the court: but as this prelate could not signalize himself as an honest man, he resolved to do it by a continued scene of treasons; and, in an audience which he demanded of the new king of Denmark, he informed him that the crown of Sweden belonged to him, as son of Christian the First, and that he could not, without being despised even by the Danes themselves, leave it any longer upon the head of an usurper. He moreover added, that all the clergy of the kingdom preserved their ancient inclination for Denmark, and that he would have a powerful party in the kingdom as soon as ever he should declare himself king of Sweden. Dazzled by these reasons and ostensible pretensions, which equally flattered his ambition and his interest, Frederick suffered himself to be crowned king of Sweden, by this prelate at Copenhagen, as if this ceremony were sufficient to make him master of the whole kingdom, and immediately sent an ambassador to the senate to complain of the election of

Gustavus, as an act that was prejudicial to his rights, and to the treaty of Calmar: the senate would not hear this ambassador; but Gustavus was of a different opinion, and ordered him to be treated magnificently by all his officers while he staid in the kingdom: he afterwards convoked the states of the kingdom at Suderkoping, to hear and deliberate upon the propositions of this ambassador, being assured that they would confirm his election in his presence. The ambassador, being introduced into the assembly, demanded in a long discourse, that his master should be acknowledged king of Sweden, pursuant to the treaty of Calmar; he afterwards made a long harangue upon the power and good qualities of this king; and added, that after the example of the Norwegians, they would do well to submit to the authority of this prince, who by that means would be better in a situation to protect them against Christian, who was preparing to invade the northern kingdoms with all the power of the German empire.

This harangue gave great offence to the states, but their speaker in answer informed the ambassador, that the Swedes were not any longer disposed to have their kings chosen by their enemies; that all the kingdom was obliged to Gustavus for having freed them from the tyranny and oppression of the Danes, who had broke the union of Calmar almost as soon as it was made; that the Swedes, although they had been divided among themselves by the artifices of their enemies, had nevertheless supported the war, with advantage, for more than a century, rather than submit to a treaty so unjust, and so odious to all the nation; and that there was no appearance at present, as they were united under a wise and victorious prince, that they would freely suffer themselves to wear a yoke which had already
cost

cost them so much blood. Moreover the states, in the presence of the ambassador, declared the archbishop of Upsal a traitor, and the enemy of his country; and actually passed a formal act to approve of every thing which Gustavus should undertake for the preservation of his dignity, whether in war or in peace, without being obliged to convoke the states general; so that this prudent and politic prince, under the apparent title of defender of the liberties of his country, insensibly paved the way to such an authority as was never before enjoyed by any king of Sweden: he kept the Danish ambassador at his court for several days, and afterwards, under pretence of doing him honour, he invited him to a review which he made of his troops; but, in fact, to shew him his power and his forces; and when this minister parted, he made him a magnificent present, and did every thing in his power to make him speak in an advantageous manner of his grandeur and force.

At the same time he sent an envoy to the king of Denmark, to demand the liberty of the widow of the late administrator, and of the other ladies whose husbands Christian had caused to be massacred at Stockholm; as well as to complain to this prince of his having sent an ambassador into Sweden, without addressing him to the king, a measure which none of the former kings of Denmark, notwithstanding their pretensions to the crown of Sweden, had ever taken, even when the kingdom was governed by an administrator. Moreover, he was ordered to inform the king of Denmark, that he ought first to fix himself in the kingdom which he had seized, before he attempts to make conquests upon his neighbours; that the king his master was not at all disposed to augment the extent of his territories, but he was so well prepared to defend himself, that he would
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defy his enemies to get an inch of land in his kingdom; that Christian had offered to acknowledge his master as king of Sweden, provided that he would enter into a league with him against the Danes, but that Gustavus had refused to have any connections with the murderer of his father.

The king of Denmark soon discovered by this discourse, as well as by the report of his ambassador, that Gustavus was much more powerful than he had been made to believe he was; and that this was no time to revive any ancient pretensions, which might draw him into a new war, when his own kingdom was every day threatened with an invasion by Christian: without any more formalities therefore, he offered the envoy to settle every thing with Gustavus in a friendly manner, and even to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him against Christian; and as a pledge of his esteem and friendship, he sent him the widow of the late administrator, and all the other ladies who were carried prisoners into Denmark after the massacre of Stockholm, with an honourable escort: Gustavus received these ladies with all the distinction that was due to their rank, and immediately invested them with all the real property of which they had been deprived by the tyranny and barbarity of Christian; and moreover, as the greatest part of them were young enough to be married a second time, if they could get husbands suitable to their rank; for by the ancient customs of this kingdom, no female was permitted to ally herself with a house less noble than her own; and all the nobles of their rank were destroyed by the orders of Christian: to remove this objection, Gustavus got an order passed the senate to abolish this custom, and permitted these ladies to chuse whom they pleased for their husbands; but at the same time he recommended them some of the principal officers

officers in his army; assuring them that merit and bloodshed in the service of their country should always be preferred to a succession of noble, although often perhaps unuseful ancestors: he secured to himself by this means the alliances of many of the first families in the kingdom; and at the same time provided for his officers without any expence to the state.

As soon as Gustavus had established some degree of regularity in the kingdom and in the government, he next resolved to pursue the great object which he had long in his view; namely, that of reducing the pride and arrogance of the clergy. This order of men had made themselves very odious, not only by their having swallowed up almost all the riches of the state, but by the inclination which they always preserved for the Danish authority, under which their power and privileges had been much increased. The archbishop of Upsal still persisted in his rebellion, and always kept up a secret correspondence with the Swedish clergy, the king therefore resolved to bring this order to reason, who by their power and their intrigues had always been the disturbers of the public tranquillity, and combated against the authority of the prince, when they were not the ministers and executors of his authority; but he perceived that he was not yet fixed enough in his government to enter upon this arduous task, which the most absolute princes, in those days, were obliged to undertake with the greatest precaution: he contented himself therefore with filling up the vacant benefices by persons who were entirely devoted to his interests, and who had no consideration in the kingdom, but by his protection; and afterwards he sent orders to the chapter of Upsal, that as the archbishop had been condemned for treason, and had fled out of the kingdom, it was necessary that they should proceed to a new election: whereupon this prelate was summoned

to return into the kingdom, and to justify his conduct; and upon his refusal, they proceeded to a new election, as in the case of a voluntary abdication. By the recommendation of the court, the choice of the chapter fell upon John Magnus, a man well versed in the scholastic theology of those days, and who led a pious and exemplary life; but who was very timid, loved solitude, and from his having no connections in the kingdom, was incapable of undertaking any thing against the government. Gustavus likewise got two of his friends nominated to the bishoprics of Stregnez and Westeras; and by having a strong party now among the dignified clergy, he kept that turbulent body of men in some degree of decorum.

The year following Gustavus had a personal conference with the king of Denmark in the town of Malmogen, where they met to settle some differences which had arose between the two crowns about the island of Gotland. These two princes, notwithstanding their differences, gave each other reciprocal marks of esteem and consideration; and entered into an offensive and defensive league against Christian their common enemy. As the Swedes were now delivered from their enemies, and were secured from foreign invasion, several of their principal nobility began to be discontented with Gustavus's government: they had been heretofore accustomed to see this man their equal, and now they could not without envy see him so much their superior. Some of the senators, and those officers of his army who had the greatest part of his confidence, when they informed him of these discontents, took the opportunity to desire him that he would not any longer defer the ceremony of his coronation; a ceremony which, as they observed, was absolutely necessary to consecrate his royalty, and to silence those envious persons who pretended

pretended that they could not regard him as their king from his not having been crowned. Gustavus was not ignorant how necessary this ceremony was in an elective kingdom, but he could not resolve within himself to perform it till he had prepared the way to carry his secret plan into execution, on which depended the happiness of his reign and the establishment of his authority. It is true, he was elected king and was beloved by the army, but he had no revenues nor resources to support a war if he was attacked: all the crown lands were alienated or usurped, and the laying of taxes upon the people was regarded as tyrannical; the greatest part of the nobility were entirely exhausted by the length of the civil wars: on the other hand, the clergy were rich and powerful, especially the bishops, who were become masters of a great part of the lands and prerogatives of the crown.

These prelates always, and with the utmost exactness, demanded of every prince the day before he was crowned the most solemn oath for the preservation of their privileges: Gustavus was not at all disposed to take this oath, but was fully resolved to revoke all these privileges, which were regarded as so many forced concessions and usurpations upon the rights of the sovereign; however he very obligingly thanked those nobles for the zeal which they had shewed for his interests, but at the same time informed them that the ceremony of his coronation could not be undertaken without great expence, and that the state was in the greatest necessity and must be relieved immediately; that he had certain intelligence that the forces of Christian were every day increasing; that the emperor Charles the Fifth was resolved to re-place this prince upon the throne of his ancestors; that it was very uncertain whether those princes would

make a descent in Denmark or in Sweden, and that he was equally in want of a fleet as well as of an army to oppose their designs; that he had no revenues nor resources to raise the forces which were necessary for this purpose; that the people of Sweden were not ignorant that he had engaged all his paternal estate to drive the Danes out of the kingdom, and that he had lately melted down all the silver vessels of the crown to recover the island of Gotland, which was thought to be so necessary to their commerce; and lastly, that he could not comprehend, considering the miserable situation of the common people and the poverty of the nobility, exhausted by the long wars, how government could be supported in future without demanding succours of the clergy, who possessed more than the half of all the property in the kingdom, and whom he had great reason to believe had made a secret merit with Christian not to have contributed any thing to the defence of the state. Gustavus would not then explain himself any farther upon this head, but contented himself with telling them on parting, that he depended upon his friends and those who were concerned in raising him to the throne to procure him the authority that was necessary to support him on it with honour, rather than to flatter him with vain ceremony and frivolous pomp.

Gustavus afterwards explained himself more particularly to the chancellor Anderson, a man of extraordinary genius, who by his eloquence and great abilities had raised himself from being an obscure ecclesiastic to be chancellor of the kingdom: he hated the clergy, who had opposed his promotion in the church; and therefore Gustavus resolved to make use of him in the great design which he had in view of humbling that formidable body.

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The chancellor had a great part of the king's confidence, and when he pressed him to be crowned, this prince observed, that he could never think himself properly king till he was master of all the fortresses which were in the hands of the bishops, and till he had re-united to his crown all the property and prerogatives which his predecessors had alienated from it in favour of the Monks and of the clergy; but he confessed that he was much afraid that this enterprize would occasion new troubles in the state, and that the Swedes, stimulated by the clergy, would regard it as a crime against religion to touch any of this property which the people supposed was consecrated to God, although in fact it was only consecrated to support the luxury and extravagance of turbulent and ambitious men. The chancellor, who had a little before adopted the opinions of Luther, told the king that he ought not to make any scruple of taking part of the property of the clergy for the defence of the kingdom, even supposing that they had acquired this property by foundations and pious legacies; that the clergy, it was true, had called all their property the property of the church, to enable them under this title to enjoy it in greater security; but that in fact this body of men ought only to be the œconomical stewards of this property, which was calculated for the use of the Christian church, of which they made but the least part, and therefore it ought to contribute to the good of the public whenever the state was in want of it: however he thought it necessary to make use of some more plausible pretext than the public utility to prevent the people from regarding such an enterprize as an attempt upon religion, and therefore, to cure them of their prejudices, he thought that the reformation which the doctrines of Luther had begun to make in the kingdom should be encouraged, as these doctrines attacked equally the excessive

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riches and temporal power of the clergy, and afterwards he could seize upon the fortresses of the bishops and re-unite to the demesnes of the crown all the property that his predecessors had alienated from it; that the people when they had embraced the doctrines of Luther would see the Monks and clergy stripped of their great property with pleasure, especially as it was to diminish the public taxes; that the bishops alone, as being the most powerful and the most interested in this change, would oppose it, but that happily there were no longer any bishops in Sweden who were in a situation to make war against their kings as they had done in the reign of Canute; that he was firmly persuaded that there were not many, even of the bishops, who would obstinately persist in the old religion; that the archbishop of Upsal was a timid and irresolute man who had no great credit in the kingdom, and who would think himself very happy at the expence of a part of his property to have the liberty of living in the exercise of the old religion; that the new bishops of Stegnez and Westeras had not any credit among their people to resist the power of the crown; that the bishops of Wexio and Abo were so little instructed in their religion, or indeed in any kind of literature, that they knew no difference between Lutheranism and the Roman Catholic service; that they would be chagrined undoubtedly to see their revenues diminished, but from the irregular course of life which they had led they dared not make any resistance; that the bishops of Linköeping and Scara, who were proud of their dignity, opinionated, and jealous of the least of their prerogatives, were the only persons who would or who could oppose the designs of the king; but when Lutheranism should be established in the kingdom by the consent of the states it would be easy to make those bishops conform to it, or otherwise to punish them as state criminals.

Gustavus

Gustavus was delighted to hear these reasons, especially as they were conformable to the secret plan which he formed to secure himself upon the throne: he would immediately have declared in favour of Lutheranism, but he saw that it was not enough in order to secure the entire success of his designs that he should change his religion; and moreover, as he knew that there would be a great number of the nobility who would oppose his designs, and who would detach themselves from his interest upon the least sign that he made to abolish the old religion, which might be attended with danger, this prince conducted himself in the execution of this important and delicate affair as a great and politic statesman: he hid all his sentiments with respect to the doctrines of Luther with the greatest care, but at the same time he gave a secret order to the chancellor to protect, as of himself, all the Lutheran preachers who were then in Sweden, and likewise to endeavour to draw others therein from the universities in Germany, to the end that this doctrine might be spread in the kingdom as soon as possible. Assured of the protection of the chancellor, the Lutheran preachers exerted themselves with an inconceivable zeal and ardour to establish their doctrines: and as they had greatly the advantage, both in science and eloquence, over the Roman Catholic clergy, they were heard with pleasure by the people, and great numbers were daily converted by them.

Whilst the doctrines of Luther were publicly preached throughout the kingdom, the king took every opportunity to diminish the temporal power of the bishops and clergy; with the consent of the senate he published several edicts against the inferior clergy and in favour of the people, to accustom the latter insensibly to see the former stripped of the greatest part of their pretended

pretended prerogatives. The clergy raised a considerable tax upon the people for certain public offences; they levied with great rigour considerable fines upon all who went a hunting or fishing during the time of divine service, as well as upon those who performed some of the marriage-rites with their intended wives before the solemnization of the sacrament of marriage. The king absolutely abolished this custom, and forbade the clergy to levy any kind of fines of this nature.

The king likewise published another edict to forbid the clergy to employ the excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures against their creditors, or against those whom they thought to be their particular enemies, which was commonly practised upon the most trifling occasions in those days. The bishops and their officers had likewise so much extended the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that the courts of common law were almost deserted; they drew into their courts every thing which had the least connection with religion;—an oath made in any contract, the least dispute about a marriage settlement, or any case where an ecclesiastic was concerned, made the suit be carried into the ecclesiastical courts, by which means the clergy became powerful and possessed great authority. The king absolutely dissolved this jurisdiction under pretence that the decision of law-suits was not at all a part of the common functions of an ecclesiastic; and by the same edict he ordered the clergy to bring the decision of their own affairs before the common law judges, whom he had ordered to take cognizance and to form a judgment of all their disputes.

Lastly, the king published an edict against the bishops, which expressly forbade them to appropriate to themselves in future

the property and the succession of the inferior clergy in their respective dioceses to the prejudice of their legal heirs; and at the same time ordered these prelates to lay before the senate the titles in virtue of which they demanded the prerogatives of receiving fines and confiscations; but this prince only published those edicts in proportion as he found that the doctrines of Luther gained ground in the kingdom.

The king's conduct very soon excited the curiosity and drew the attention of the whole nation; some spoke of it in one manner and others in another, but all the sensible part of the people were glad to see the immoderate power of the clergy and a great part of their extortions and vexations abolished. The clergy and the Monks, on the contrary, suffered impatiently that their authority was called in question, and that they were troubled in the possession of their privileges; but the king, without embarrassing himself about their discontentment, sent his troops into winter quarters upon their lands, and even lodged his cavalry in some parts of the abbey and monasteries under pretence that the farmers were ruined, but in fact to keep the Monks in order.

The Lutheran preachers took every opportunity of informing the nobility that they had for a long time been the dupes of the clergy and of the Monks; that the absurd idea of purgatory had cost them the principal part of the property of their families, which by means of this pious fraud the Monks had appropriated to their own use; they moreover advised them to take possession of the property of their ancestors, as a property which had been kept from them by usurpation, and not to be frightened by the imaginary fire of purgatory. These preachers likewise published

lished at the same time a new translation of the bible in the Swedish language.

Fired with resentment against the king's conduct, the bishops held several councils among themselves to oppose it and to treat this prince as a heretic, as he not only attacked their religion, but endeavoured to ruin their authority and power; nevertheless, as he hid his principles respecting Lutheranism, and made public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, these prelates supposed that they could not publicly declare him the enemy of their religion without offending both him and the whole kingdom, and therefore they resolved to dissemble their sentiments as he had done, and to go in a body and desire him to punish all the Lutheran preachers as so many notorious heretics. The archbishop of Upsal, in the name of all the clergy, made this demand with great formality, as well as informed his majesty, although with much respect, that the late edicts which he had published must certainly have been advised by the enemies of their religion; that they violated the rights of the church and even the privileges of the nation, and therefore he desired his majesty, in the name of all the clergy in the kingdom, to revoke them. To which the king answered, that the clergy had usurped many of the prerogatives as well as fiefs of the crown during the civil wars, and therefore they ought not to take it ill that his officers made an exact enquiry into it, as he only demanded the property which had been usurped or unjustly alienated. With regard to the Lutheran preachers, he was very ready to give them up, together with all other persons in his kingdom who should be convicted of heresy, but he would never refuse them the justice of hearing them before he would condemn them, as it was well known that the clergy treated indifferently

as heretics all who differed from them in opinion, and often upon the most frivolous scholastic questions, which were of very little importance in religion.

Equally surprized and piqued that the king should regard disputes about the doctrines of Luther as frivolous scholastic questions, and of very little importance in religion, the archbishop with some degree of warmth offered to convict Olaus Petri, the chief of the Lutheran preachers, in the presence of his majesty, and of all his court, of several very dangerous errors. The king very readily accepted this proposal of the archbishop's, and they agreed that it should be at Upsal; where the king soon after attended with all his court. The archbishop now declined entering into any conference with Olaus, under the specious pretext of his dignity, which made him the judge of those matters; but many have supposed that it was from fear of being worsted by this learned and eloquent man: however he proposed doctor Gallus, a celebrated theologian of those days, to oppose his antagonist: much was said on both sides in this conference, but not one point was agreed upon. The Lutheran would support his doctrine by the authority of the holy scriptures alone; but the Roman Catholic obstinately adhered to the tradition of the fathers and of the councils; at length the king broke up the assembly, and assured the archbishop, that he would not suffer any thing to pass in the kingdom, on account of religion, without his counsel and participation..

Flattered by these condescensions of the king, the archbishop convoked to Stockholm all the other bishops, and the principal of the clergy; both secular and regular, and represented to them the necessity that there was of coming to some agreement with

the king, and of making an exact translation of the New Testament, to oppose that of Luther which was introduced into the kingdom, and which he said was evidently false; but he was violently opposed at first by the rest of the bishops and the clergy, who said that they never approved of the conference of Upsal; that they should begin by excommunicating the Lutheran preachers, for these heretics ought only to be reformed by fire and by sword: however the archbishop, with the assistance of some of the clergy, made the translation proposed.

Gustavus was highly pleased to see the reformation make so quick a progress in the kingdom, as the greatest part of the nobility had Lutherans to preach to and exhort their families; as he only made his designs known, in proportion as Lutheranism made its progress: he now convoked the senate to meet, upon some advices which he declared he had received, that the emperor had resolved to come himself, at the head of all the forces of the empire, to re-establish Christian the Second. And therefore, no sooner were the senators arrived at Stockholm, than he desired them to proceed incessantly to put the kingdom in such a state of defence as not to be surprized by their enemies: to which the senators answered, that the people were exhausted by the long wars which the kingdom had sustained; and that moreover the merchants of Lubeck had absolutely ruined the kingdom by the privilege which they had extorted, to have the exclusive commerce of the kingdom, and that without paying any customs; and therefore it was unanimously agreed in the senate, that it would be impossible, in the present distressed situation of the kingdom, to pay the town of Lubeck, to abolish the privileges which the king had been forced to grant them, and to lay open the trade.

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Whereupon the king ordered his chancellor to propose to the senate to take the two thirds of the tenths, which appertained chiefly to the bishops, or to the rich abbies, for the support and subsistence of the troops; and at the same time this minister insinuated, that they might make use of the superfluous silver vessels of the churches, and of the unuseful bells, to pay the city of Lubeck; and that by this means they would be in a situation to abolish all those privileges, which equally ruined the prince and his subjects. All the senators approved this expedient, and immediately published a formal edict for this purpose: the king named commissaries for carrying it into execution, who went through all the provinces, and took all the useless silver vessels and bells which they found in the churches; and at the same time laid up in the king's granaries, the tenths, and the grains destined for the subsistence of the troops.

This edict of the senate equally surprized and overwhelmed the bishops and the clergy: they saw that this prince was powerful and politic, and an enemy to their authority, and that he knew how to hide his hatred and his designs: they first complained of this imagined outrage; but as their complaints were not regarded, they took every method to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, and to dethrone the king; but the activity and power of Gustavus soon crushed all their designs. The king addressed himself afterwards to the bishops of Stregnez and of Westeras, whom he had reason to suppose would not oppose him, and assured them, that all his conduct had no other end than to have the pure word of God preached in his kingdom, and to banish the superstitions which a spirit of interest had introduced in the exercise of religion; and then he desired them to surrender into his hands the fortresses of which they were the masters, and pro-

mised them in exchange to give them a considerable property, as particulars, and to raise their families to the first dignities in the kingdom.

Pleased with the confidence and affection which the king shewed towards them, these prelates submitted immediately to his will; but the archbishop of Upsal had more resolution, and neither promises nor menaces could shake him: whereupon all his temporalities were seized, and he was secretly informed that he would act prudently to quit the kingdom for some time, which he accordingly did. While all mankind were regarding with astonishment the steps which Gustavus was taking, this prince resolved to draw out of the hands of the bishops all the fortresses that depended upon their bishoprics; and, at the same time, to make an exact search into all the property that the clergy and the monks had usurped or acquired since the time of the king Canuteson; and moreover he resolved to confirm all the edicts and declarations of the senate, particularly respecting the tenths and the church vessels, by an order of the states general: and for this purpose he convoked the states to Westeras, when the chancellor opened the business of this meeting by a pressing discourse upon the wants of the state; and represented to this assembly, on the part of the king, that his majesty had not any fund established for the payment of his troops; that the greatest part of the fortifications upon the frontiers of the kingdom were in want of reparations; that he had very few ships in his ports, and that his storehouses were almost empty: he then informed them that certain advices were received that the emperor Charles the Fifth and Christian were ready to invade the North; and described the tyranny and oppression of the latter while he was master of Sweden: he pointed out the
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great abilities and good qualities of Gustavus, and the generous design which he alone had formed to deliver his country; that it was well known he had mortgaged all his paternal estate to support the war against the Danes; but that those cruel enemies, whom he had driven out of the kingdom, were ready to enter it again, with all the forces of the emperor; that the crown lands and revenues were so diminished by the usurpations of the clergy, that there was scarcely enough left to support the king's household; that all the nobility were in a distressed situation by the indiscreet foundations which their ancestors had made; that the clergy were in possession of more property than the king, and all the other orders of the kingdom together; that the bishops had made religion subservient to their interests, and to the establishment of their authority; and that, by very illegal means, they were become masters of the principal fiefs and fortresses in the kingdom, and in consequence of them, had often revolted against their sovereigns, called in the enemies of the kingdom to their assistance, and introduced them into their fortresses: that the senate, who knew the pressing wants of the state, and how much the excessive power and great riches of the bishops were become prejudicial to the peace of the kingdom, had judiciously ordered that two thirds of the tenths should be employed for the support and subsistence of the troops: the king therefore demanded of the states, that the edict of the senate, and the declarations which he had published, and which were only calculated to ease the people, might be confirmed; that the ecclesiastics and monks should immediately restore to the king all the demesnes of the crown, and to the nobility, and all the other orders, the lands and other property, which they pretended had been given them, since the states in king Canuteson's reign had made an express law to the contrary; and that they should be obliged

obliged to contribute, as well as the other orders, to the support of the state, in proportion to their ancient demesnes, and their acquisitions; that the bishops should no longer usurp the succession of their ecclesiastics, which ruined insensibly the best families of the kingdom; that those prelates should renounce their pretensions to fines and confiscations; that they should be incessantly ordered to surrender their fortresses into the king's hands, which had only hitherto served as a retreat for rebels and seditious people; and that they would exclude for ever these prelates from having seats in the senate, and from meddling in future with the affairs of government.

The chancellor was immediately answered by the bishop of Linköping, who observed, that he was not surprized that they should so haughtily propose to seize upon the property of the church, seeing that they tolerated Lutheranism which attacked their religion itself; that, for his part, he was determined, with all the clergy of the kingdom, to defend constantly the faith and the Catholic religion; and that they would never consent to give up their property, nor any of their rights and privileges, without an express order of the pope, whom they acknowledged as the sovereign dispenser of all the property of the church, as he was the infallible judge in all questions of faith and matters of religion.

Astonished at the boldness of this discourse, the king expected that some of the senators or of the nobility would have answered the bishop; but finding that it was seconded by the great marshal of the kingdom, and applauded by a great party in the states, this prince complained of the little respect and of the ingratitude of the Swedes; he reproached them with their never having
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been able to do without a king, nor to suffer him when he was elected: he told them, that he was not ignorant that his declarations against the clergy, and the edict of the senate respecting the tithes, had created him more enemies in the kingdom than he had among all the neighbouring nations; that they were much deceived if they imagined that he was mounted upon the throne to represent there only the image of a king; that in the present situation of the kingdom, which was threatened daily with an invasion by the emperor and the king Christian, he would be obeyed, and have such an authority as was necessary to defend himself; and if they thought that such submission and such obedience were unjust, he was very ready to renounce his election, with the condition only that they would defray the expences that he had been at for the defence of the state, since he had the charge of the government, and that afterwards he would leave them to enjoy quietly the fruits of his victories; and that he would give them his word to quit the kingdom, and never more to enter it on any consideration: when he had finished this discourse, he left the assembly abruptly, and was followed by the principal officers of his troops, who pressed him to make himself the absolute master of the government, and offered to execute his orders incessantly, without waiting for the consent of the states.

The king's sudden departure made a great confusion in the assembly, who came to no resolution for that day; and even, when they assembled the next day, the deputies were much divided; one party defended the property and privileges of the clergy with so much the more warmth, as they were persuaded that the preservation of the Roman Catholic religion depended upon it; and the other party, who regarded the opinions of Luther as a matter of very great indifference, would submit to the propositions of the king; and ob-
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served, that the deputies of the kingdom ought not to govern themselves by the maxims of priests and monks, who have different interests from those of the state, and who even acknowledge a foreign prince for their sovereign in the person of the pope; that these priests had usurped the greatest part of the property of the kingdom, and held it under the name of the property of the church, and threatened with excommunication all who complained of their injustices: the other party, on the contrary, pretended that they were ready to receive the abdication of the king according to his proposal. Whereupon the bishop of Stregnez represented to the states, that he was surprized that there were any of that assembly who dared treat so openly of the abdication of the king, almost in his presence, and under the cannon of his castle; that an affair of that importance was not to be treated by a cabal; that he saw several in the assembly who thought very highly of themselves, but who would be terrified with only the looks and presence of Gustavus, if he had his arms in his hands. He then asked them, what forces they had to oppose this prince, who was master of all the troops? and, in case he should abdicate the crown, what funds had they to pay him the immense expence that he had been at to defend the state? he added, that it was not so easy to regulate an account with a great general, at the head of an army, and who kept the sovereign power as long as he pleased, as a pledge for the payment; that they were greatly deceived if they flattered themselves that Sweden, under any other prince, or under any other form of government, could resist for any time all the enemies with whom she was surrounded; that every sensible person knew very well, that the present power and force of the kingdom was much more in the person of the king than in his dignity; that the least step this prince took to descend from

of God to the people. This act was no sooner prepared than all the throne would serve at the same time for the king of Denmark to mount it, and that the fear of his courage and great abilities alone kept all the enemies of the nation in respect; this prelate moreover observed, that although the king did not appear very favourable to the clergy, nevertheless the great and sincere affection which he had always shewn for the good of the state, obliged them to confess that the welfare of the kingdom was in a great degree annexed to his person; that they were not permitted to suppose that the king had changed his religion, because he did not burn all those who were obstinate in persisting to pray to God in the Swedish, their own natural language; that this prince had more than once explained himself upon this head, that he would always persist in the religion of his ancestors; that they were obliged to confess that the Monks had introduced into the church, under the appearance of devotion, many superstitions which disfigured intirely the Christian religion; that the king, assisted by men of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, might correct these abuses without being accused of making any change in the religion, as he might justly make the Swedish church independent of the servitude of the court of Rome without separating from the Romish church.

This discourse produced a very great effect upon the states, as it was very unexpected from a bishop; all the other bishops and the greatest part of the clergy almost trembled with rage and fury against this prelate, but all the rest of the assembly, who were convinced of the truth of what was said, highly applauded him, and the states at last ordered a solemn act to be prepared to grant the king all that he desired; to which the chancellor artfully added, that learned and virtuous men should be established in all the principal churches, who should explain the pure word

the deputies signed it, and even the bishops, who were not united among themselves, were obliged to sign it likewise.

Gustavus having gained every thing that he wished, thanked the states, by his chancellor, for the useful resolutions which they had taken, and which were conformable to the wants of the state: he assured them likewise, that in future he would spare the people as much as possible, and that he hoped, with the succours alone which they had just now granted him, he should be able to put the kingdom in such a situation as to have nothing to fear from their enemies. By this act the king became master not only of the greatest part of the property of the clergy, which undoubtedly they had most unjustly acquired, but likewise of regulating in a great measure the discipline of the church. He immediately departed at the head of a body of cavalry to execute himself this act of the states: he passed through all the provinces of the kingdom successively, accompanied by several Lutheran doctors, who preached in his presence in all the principal churches; and at the same time he had all the titles of the property of the clergy and of Monks examined, and immediately united to the demesnes of the crown all that had been unjustly taken from it; he likewise restored to the ancient proprietors, or to their heirs, all the property arising from the foundations which had been made since the reign of king Canuteson. He took from the clergy by this means more than 13,000 fiefs or considerable farms, the principal of which he united to his demesnes, and the rest he bestowed upon the officers of his army; he drew at the same time immense sums from the useless silver vessels of the churches, which he melted down and made a part of the public treasure. The greatest part of the clergy who persevered in the Roman Catholic religion, and

and who had made themselves odious by their former bad conduct, were displaced from their benefices and Lutheran preachers put in their room; but many of the curates and the parochial clergy professed publicly the doctrines of Luther to preserve at least their houses and a part of their revenues. The Monks abandoned their convents, the greatest part through curiosity and to have a variety, and the rest because they could not now live in the same luxury and idleness that they had lived in heretofore. The bishop of Linköeping retired into Poland, and the other bishops, except the bishop of Scara, obeyed the orders of the court; but this prelate, who was very little versed in theological controversies, resolved to defend his dignity and the property of his church by force of arms, in which design he likewise engaged the great marshal and several other nobles of Westrogothia, who endeavoured to stimulate that province into rebellion; but the farmers, who had a great esteem and respect for the king, refused to take up arms, and the bishop even saw himself abandoned by all his chapter, who were greatly inclined to adopt the Lutheran principles.

Many of the ecclesiastics and Monks, who were determined to persevere in the Roman Catholic religion, fled into the mountains of Dalicaria, and made the most bitter complaints against Gustavus and the Lutheran preachers. The Dalicarians, touched with their complaints, and irritated to see new pastors in their churches, or that the old ones had changed their common ceremonies, immediately took up arms with the greatest fury. All the discontented clergy, Monks, and the principal of the steady Roman Catholics joined them, some out of zeal for their religion and to defend the property of the churches, and others from resentment against the king. The bishop of Scara,

hearing of the rebellion in Dalicaria, went secretly into this province and joined the rebel army : he was accompanied by the great marshal and several nobles of Westrogothia, who engaged themselves not to lay down their arms till they had obtained the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion ; they were received with great acclamations by the Dalicarians, who elected the great marshal to be their commander in chief.

When Gustavus was informed of this rebellion he appeared not to be surprized, and said, that he would avoid taking up arms because he would not be obliged to make his subjects fight one against another, but that he hoped to disperse this revolt by gentleness ; nevertheless he lost no time to file away secretly his troops by different ways, so that they should meet on the frontiers of this province, that he might be all of a sudden in a situation to force these turbulent people into their duty, if he could not do it by means of those persons of his court whom, upon hearing the first news of the revolt, he had sent among the Dalicarians, as being known to them, to endeavour to bring them back to their duty by gentleness. His agents first addressed themselves to the great marshal and to the bishop of Scara, with the other leaders of this rebellion, whom they endeavoured to gain over by large offers ; but meeting with the greatest obstinacy from those who had any merit, they addressed themselves next to the Dalicarians, whom they persuaded to send deputies to the court, upon the flattering hopes which they gave them that Gustavus would not refuse any thing to men to whom he owed his crown and his greatness, but in fact only to amuse them, and to draw them off their guard.

The

The deputies of the Dalicarlians, seduced by the apparent timid manner in which the king dissembled their revolt, imagined that they could prescribe as they thought proper all the conditions of the treaty; they therefore demanded, in the name of their province and of all the Catholics in the kingdom, that Lutheranism should be punished in Sweden as a capital crime; that the marriages of the Monks and the clergy should be declared null; that all the church-veffels, bells, &c. should be restored; that all those who should be convicted of having eat flesh on fast days should be burnt without any distinction; that the king should engage himself, after the example of his predecessors, never to pass the frontiers of their province without giving hostages for the security of their privileges; and lastly, that the king and his court should re-assume their ancient manner of cloathing themselves, without any of the modes and fashions of strangers. Gustavus cajoled and flattered these deputies while he disposed of every thing secretly to surprize and to surround them with all his forces; and as soon he heard that his troops were within one day's march of the place of rendezvous which he had marked out for them, he sent away the deputies, and ordered them to tell their countrymen, that he was not disposed to enter into any treaty with his subjects, and that he desired them to come armed in a body into the plains of Tuna, there to receive the battle which he was resolved to give them at the head of his army; or that they would first drive the rebels out of the province, and then come disarmed and demand pardon, otherwise he would lay waste all their villages with fire and sword. He immediately departed with the greatest expedition to join his army, which was already upon the frontiers of the province. The chiefs of the rebels and of the Dalicarlians were equally surprized at the diligence and resolution of Gustavus; and

and as soon as they heard that he was arrived upon the frontiers of the province, fear and terror spread themselves in their camp; the chiefs of the rebels were afraid that the Dalicarlians were secretly gained over and had made peace at the expence of their heads, therefore they quitted the camp secretly and fled into Norway, and soon after joined king Christian the Second, who was then in the Low Countries; and the Dalicarlians, seeing themselves abandoned by these chiefs, submitted themselves; so that this great rebellion was quelled even without any bloodshed.

All the nation now submitted to the power of the prince, and almost all the nation embraced Lutheranism; the Lutheran preachers gained over many by convincing them that their doctrines, which the Roman Catholics unjustly treated as a novelty, was nothing more than the strict doctrine of Christianity, as it was practised in the first century after Jesus Christ, and freed from all the superstitions of the Monks.

Gustavus, seeing that the greatest part of the Swedish nation were become Lutherans, likewise became a Lutheran, and named Olaus Petri a pastor of his church at Stockholm; he likewise appointed his brother, Laurens Petri, to be archbishop of Upsal, by whom he was crowned on the 12th of January 1528: the ceremonies were performed at Upsal with all the necessary solemnities. All the principal people of Sweden were now become Lutheran; the king, the senators, the bishops, and all the nobility, together with the greatest part of the country curates, made public profession of this doctrine, acknowledging the confession of Ausbourg for the rule of their faith.

Gustavus

Gustavus having terminated the affair of religion to his wishes, undertook another which brought a considerable sum of money into his coffers. The greatest part of the provinces of Sweden were before the beginning of the ninth century full of large forests, which several of the kings who reigned in this century undertook to clear and cultivate, and afterwards gave these newly cultivated lands the title of fiefs of the nobility, on condition of paying a certain fine to the crown; but during the civil wars which happened afterwards the nobility had insensibly exempted themselves from paying these ancient rights, and a long prescription had entirely abolished the custom. Gustavus renewed these pretensions of the crown, and ordered the nobility either to pay those fines or to quit the fiefs: the nobility, astonished at this research, as the demands and pretensions of Gustavus were very little different from so many absolute laws and orders, demanded to compromise the matter, and agreed to pay the king ten marks of silver for every fief.

Every thing succeeded according to this prince's wishes; and of all the enemies he had there was only Christian which gave him any inquietude: this prince, as I have already observed, had retired into Flanders, where he continually solicited the emperor Charles the Fifth, his brother-in-law, to contribute to his re-establishment. Gustavus, who always maintained spies near Christian, was informed by them that this prince made great levies of troops in all the Low Countries with a design to make a descent in the northern kingdoms, and that either Sweden or Denmark would soon become the theatre of war; he therefore immediately gave advice to king Frederic, and at the same time took every method to fortify himself against the house of Austria by some considerable alliance. The Lutheran princes

of Germany, being at that time extremely jealous and inquiet at the power of the emperor, he supposed would be much inclined to enter into his interests by the conformity of their religion, and therefore with this view he demanded the eldest daughter of the duke of Saxe Lawenbourg in marriage: charmed with the valour and reputation of Gustavus, the duke immediately granted him his daughter, who was conducted with a numerous escort to Stockholm, where the marriage was celebrated with great joy and magnificence; but the ceremonies of the marriage were scarcely finished, when Gustavus received advice that Christian had secretly embarked a great number of troops in a port of Holland: he informed the king of Denmark with all dispatch, and put himself at the head of his army to keep his enemies in awe and to prevent the Roman Catholics and discontented from favouring the descent of this prince. The emperor had always flattered him with the hopes that he would himself re-establish him in his kingdoms at the head of all the forces in the empire; but the almost continual wars which Charles had with France prevented him from undertaking this expedition, and Christian, tired with empty promises and with enjoying the melancholy character of a king without any power, resolved to make an attempt to re-enter his kingdoms with what troops he could raise. At the earnest desire of the great marshal of Sweden he was tempted to make a descent in that kingdom, but a violent tempest having driven him upon the coast of Norway he landed his troops there without any opposition, and attempted from thence to pass into Westrogothia; but having learnt that Gustavus had fortified all the defiles of the mountains between Norway and Sweden, he returned again into Norway, where he gained some advantages at first, but was afterwards

afterwards surrounded and taken prisoner, as hath been already observed.

Gustavus, happily delivered from all his enemies, reigned afterwards without any inquietude. All the princes of Europe, who were not dependent upon the house of Austria, gave him distinguished marks of their esteem. Francis the First, king of France, entered into a defensive league with him against the emperor and the house of Austria: these two princes mutually engaged themselves by treaty to assist each other with 6000 men, completely armed, in time of war; and even with 25,000 men, and a fleet of fifty ships, if the prince attacked and at war should require it, provided that he paid for their support. Gustavus was the first king of Sweden that made this kingdom of any weight in the general affairs of Europe. The princes of the league of Smalkald invited him likewise to unite with them in the common defence of their religion, and were much pleased to have in their party so great a general and so great a statesman with a royal title.

Gustavus was now advanced in years, and only wanted the happiness of seeing his crown, which was elective, secured to his children and to his posterity; but this was an affair so much the more difficult as the nobility were so extremely jealous of their prerogatives in this case, and were not ignorant that the hereditary succession would draw with it the absolute power, and insensibly ruin all the privileges of the nation: however the king convoked the states general to Westeras, with the view of abolishing the right and usage of the election of a king; when this great and prudent prince, who had before gained a considerable party in the states, represented to the assembly the great

services which his house had rendered to Sweden, and at the same time laid open to the deputies all the mischiefs and the confusion which the intrigues of the different parties had caused in the kingdom at the former elections: he found no person in the assembly who was in a situation to oppose his designs; all the chiefs of the first families of the kingdom, and all the ancient senators were destroyed at the massacre of Stockholm, and the young nobility, who were born since his reign and accustomed to a blind obedience to his will, did not attempt to make any opposition: there was not the least trace of their ancient liberty and form of government remaining. The deputies consented with great submission to the suppression of the right of election, and agreed to establish an hereditary right in favour of the children of Gustavus and of their successors, as well in the direct as in the collateral line: whereupon the chancellor drew up a formal act of this renunciation of the states, which was called the act of the hereditary union, and which secured the crown of Sweden, with the absolute power, to the children and successors of Gustavus. This act was passed in the year 1546.

Christian the Third, king of Denmark, heard the news of this change with great chagrin and jealousy: the Danes had always preserved their ancient pretensions to Sweden: this act of hereditary union had absolutely annulled the union of Calmar; but Christian, to keep up his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, had quartered the arms of that kingdom with those of Denmark as a public declaration of his right, and under pretence that Margaret of Valdemar and her successors had reigned over that kingdom. Gustavus sent an ambassador to Christian to complain of this affair, but he could obtain nothing of this

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young

young ambitious prince; and as he was advanced in years, and unwilling to enter into a new war at a time when he should rather preserve his authority by his prudence and reputation than by his arms, and knowing how vain are ideal pretensions against the actual possession which he had of the crown, and which had lately been assured by a solemn treaty to his children and to their posterity; I say, Gustavus, like a wise king, dissembled his resentment; and the king of Denmark, seeing how well this prince had prepared himself for a defence, likewise dropt his pretensions.

Gustavus having established peace and tranquillity in his dominions, bent his thoughts upon making his subjects happy, and upon increasing their trade and commerce; he himself signed all orders and dispatches, and all the affairs of the kingdom went directly to him; he received and heard all his subjects with bounty and good nature, and rendered justice to all with great exactness and without any respect of persons. By the fundamental laws of Sweden, in all kinds of law-suits for above a certain value there is an appeal to the king in person; Gustavus would not suffer those suits to be decided by others, but they were all brought before him. He governed in time of peace without any minister, as he did in the time of war without any general: he reigned without a favourite, and made the happiness and peace of his subjects the great objects of his pursuit. A little before his death he made a testament, in which he left his eldest son Eric the crown pursuant to the act of union; he left the great duchy of Finland to his second son John; the province of Ostrogothia to his third son Magnus, and the province of Sudermania to his fourth son Charles: although those provinces were always to owe homage and faith to the crown of Sweden, yet as they were held as principalities, they were in a manner

dismembered from the crown; an error in policy which we could scarcely have supposed the great Gustavus would have fallen into, and for which Sweden has suffered so much, that the states have since made solemn resolutions never to do the like again.

Gustavus soon after died, in the 70th year of his age, lamented by all his subjects, and admired for the great actions which he had shewn during the whole course of his life. This prince, whom adversity could not depress, nor prosperity too much elevate, reigned with such an absolute authority as if he had been born upon the throne; he changed the religion of the kingdom, and disposed of the laws and the property of his subjects as he thought proper; nevertheless his strict justice, integrity, and almost innumerable good qualities made him be adored by the people and revered by all the nobility. He left his kingdom at peace with all his neighbours, the revenues of the crown much increased, the public arsenals abundantly furnished, a considerable fleet in the ports, the frontiers of the kingdom fortified, a large sum of money in the public coffers, and in fact the kingdom formidable to her enemies, and in a situation to be respected by her allies.

His son Eric mounted the throne in the year 1559, and reigned nine years, five of which he kept his brother John in prison on suspicion of his having formed a design to supplant him, which indeed he finally did; but not before Eric had, by making a farmer's daughter his queen, and by several cruel and dishonourable actions, lost the affections of all his subjects; so that he was deposed without much difficulty, and condemned to a perpetual prison, where he ended his life.

Upon

Upon this deposition the crown came to John the Third. The kingdom was engaged in a war with Moscovy, which began in king Eric's reign about Livonia, and which was carried on with great success by this king, who took several places of consequence, to which not only Moscovy but Sweden and Denmark pretended; for as the Knights Templars had transferred their right to Livonia upon Poland, so the Moscovites had agreed to deliver it to Magnus duke of Holstein, the king of Denmark's brother, in consideration of a small fine and acknowledgment to the czar of Moscovy as to the supreme lord; so that four great nations claiming this country at once considerably facilitated the Swedish conquest. This prince's reign was much disquieted by the attempt which he made to alter the religion that was established in the kingdom by his father, and in which he made a considerable progress, but was for some time in doubt whether he should form an union with the Greek or with the Latin church; to the latter of which he at last declared himself, but could not prevail with his subjects to follow his example. He kept his brother Eric ten years in prison, and then, for his own safety, he thought it necessary to have him poisoned.

After having reigned in an absolute manner for thirty-six years John was poisoned by an ignorant apothecary, there being at that time no physicians in Sweden, and left the crown to his son Sigismund, whose mother was a princess of the Jagellon family in Poland, to which crown Sigismund had been elected five years before the death of his father: his brother John was then in his minority, so that his uncle Charles, Gustavus's fourth son, had the government of the kingdom till Sigismund came from Poland to be crowned in Sweden, which was not till a year after his father's decease: his coronation was retarded for several

several months by the difficulties that arose about the points of religion and the confirmation of the privileges of the nation; all which however were at length accommodated, and the king, after a year's stay in Sweden, returned into Poland, leaving the kingdom in great confusion on account of the troubles which he fomented between the Catholics, which still remained in the kingdom, and the Lutherans, which increased daily; so that on his return some years after he was met by his uncle at the head of an army, which soon defeated the forces the king brought with him: however matters were soon after accommodated between the king and his uncle, and the former returned again into Poland, leaving the latter to manage the government; but the conduct of Sigismund becoming so very bad, and his having sacrificed Sweden to the interests of Poland, the states interfered; and having solicited him in vain to consent to the advancement of his son to the crown, they next offered it to his brother John, who refused it, therefore they conferred it upon his uncle Charles the Ninth, and by this means revived again, at least in some measure, the ancient Gothic liberty of deposing their king when they saw him unworthy to wear the crown.

Charles thereby became engaged in a war with Poland as he was before with Moscovy, the scene of which being in Livonia, the Swedes lost ground, till the affairs of Moscovy fell into such confusion that they consented to give Sweden a peace, which was very advantageous to her, on condition that they might have her assistance against the Poles and the Tartars. The Swedish forces did the Moscovites great service; but the latter failing to perform the conditions stipulated, they separated from them, and took the city of Novogorod, and so disposed the inhabitants, with others of the neighbouring provinces, that they desired
prince

prince Charles Philip, the king's youngest son, to be their czar; but the matter was so long in agitation that the opportunity was lost.

The year before this king's death the war broke out likewise with Denmark, in which state he left the kingdom in the year 1611 to his son Gustavus Adolphus, who having made peace with Denmark made Moscovy and Livonia the scene of war: he sent his brother into Moscovy, not with an intention to establish himself upon that throne, which he rather aimed at for himself, but to induce the fortified places upon the frontiers of Finland and Livonia to accept of Swedish garrisons in the name of prince Charles Philip, which succeeded in a great measure till another was chosen czar, with whom, after carrying on the war for some time with various successes on each side, a peace was concluded through the mediation of England and Holland; whereby Sweden, besides the greatest part of Livonia, got all the country of Ingermania and the province of Kexholm, with several fortifications, which entirely prevented the Moscovites from having any communication with the Baltic sea.

The Polish war, which had some short intervals of truces, was of a longer continuance, and no less beneficial to the Swedes, who in the course of it took Riga and all the other places which the Poles had in Livonia, and from thence carried the war into Prussia with equal success, till at last, by the interposition of England and France, a truce was concluded for six years, which gave Gustavus time to engage in the German war, to which he was on many occasions provoked by the emperor, and encouraged by several others.

The

The year following he landed his little army, consisting only of sixteen troops of horse and ninety-two companies of foot, making between eight and nine thousand men, at the mouth of the Oder, and was soon after joined by six English and Scotch regiments under the command of duke Hamilton, and some other small additions from Germany. Upon his first approach with this little army Stettin and all Pomerania fell into his hands; and the following year, having joined the elector of Saxony, he totally defeated the imperial army, commanded by general count Tilly (on September 7th 1631) near Leipzig, from whence he traversed Franconia, the Palatinate, Bavaria, and Swabia till the next year, at the battle of Lutzen, where his army was again victorious; but he was treacherously killed, as it is said, by the duke of Saxe Lawenbourg, not only to the great joy of the Imperialists, but of France and others of his little pretended friends, who beheld his great and glorious actions with envy and fear.

By his death the crown came to his daughter Christina, who was then only five years of age, in whose favour Gustavus Adolphus had gained the states of the kingdom to alter the act of hereditary union, which limited the succession to the male line. During her minority the chancellor Axel Oxenstiern had the direction of the war in Germany, which was prosecuted with a variety of success, but always to the advantage of Sweden, which was possessed of a great many capital fortifications in the empire, and had an army exceeding 100,000 men, of which prince Charles Gustavus was commander in chief, a little before the treaty of Munster, by which treaty Sweden obtained for its satisfaction the dukedoms of Pomerania, Bremen and Verden, with the city of Wismar, and a right of session to vote in the diet.

diet of the empire and circle of Lower Saxony, with the sum of five millions of crowns.

When the queen Christina came to years of reflection she resolved to quit the crown which her father, grandfather, and great grandfather had ornamented by so many great actions; and after having procured her cousin Charles Gustavus to be declared hereditary prince by the states of the kingdom, she at last effected it, released her subjects from their allegiance, and divesting herself of the crown and government, which was the same day conferred upon Charles Gustavus, who now received the crown in full hereditary right, and with the unanimous consent of the states of the kingdom, and the same year declared war against Poland, to revenge the affront which he supposed they had done him in protesting against his admission to the royalty. The progress which he made at first not only surprized Poland, but alarmed all Europe; for, in less than three months, he had taken all Prussia, except Dantzic, a great part of Lithuania, the cities of Warsaw, Cracow, and many other considerable places in the Greater and Lesser Poland, the greatest part of the people in those provinces swearing allegiance to him, as they were deserted by king Casimir, who had fled into Silesia. But this career of prosperity did not long continue, for as soon as this first consternation was over, the Poles were as ready to desert him as they had been to embrace his party: besides the czar of Moscow, the emperor, Denmark, and Holland, became his enemies, which gave the king of Sweden an honourable opportunity of quitting Poland, where he could not long have subsisted; having therefore left his brother governor of Prussia, he hastened back to Denmark; which, from the divisions that were then in that kingdom between the king and

the senate, he was soon reduced to the necessity of purchasing a peace at the expence of the provinces of Schonen (or Scania) Holland, and Bleking, which were of greater and more real utility to the Swedes than all their other conquests, as being easily maintained, and from their making the Sound and the Baltic the limits of their kingdom.

But by the motions which the Danes made in consequence of this treaty, the war broke out again in a few months; when the king of Sweden landed an army the following summer in Zealand, took the castle of Cronenburg, which commands the entrance of the Sound, and besieged Copenhagen; but from the gallant defence which the citizens made, and from the assistance which the Danes received from Holland, the siege was turned into a blockade, and continued so, till Charles Gustavus, having by his bold and successful attempts, in six years time, drawn upon Sweden the enmity of almost all Europe, was carried off by a fever, and left the crown to his son Charles the Eleventh, then a minor, whose ministers obtained peace from Poland, Moscow, the Emperor, Brandenburg, Holland, and Denmark, upon honourable conditions; which was continued for several years: but this king was no sooner crowned, and took the reins of government into his own hands, than he found himself engaged in the war then carried on between France, Holland, and some of the German states; and having, in consideration of a subsidy of about 200,000 pounds a year, joined the French interest, he marched a considerable body of troops into Germany, under the command of field-marshal Wrangel, which was entirely defeated soon after they had taken the field: a disaster so little foreseen or provided for threw the king's affairs into the greatest confusion, and made way for all the miseries that ensued; for the
success

success of this action turned the bias of the Danish councils, and presented the favourable opportunity they expected to engage in the war, which they began with the taking of Wismar, and from thence translated it into Scania: this gave the king of Sweden an opportunity to shew his talents and courage in the defence of his kingdom; for when he was called into those parts to make head against the Danes, he found the ill effects of his ministers deficiency in making due preparations; four of the six fortified places in Scania were already in the enemies hands, and the inhabitants ready to declare for their ancient masters. To oppose the Danish forces and a powerful confederacy, the king at first had but a handful of men, and empty magazines; the forces of the kingdom being divided into Livonia, into Germany, upon the Frontiers of Norway, and in the sea service: and the Swedes were attacked so violently, with such powerful enemies, that the king received no other accounts but those of losses and misfortunes: all the fortune of Sweden, and all its ancient glory, seemed to be confined to the king's person and his little army: however, he won with it three victories in the course of one year; and in one of them he charged more than ten times at the head of a brigade.

In the course of this war, the king gained a great fund of military experience, and was so indefatigable and perpetually employed, that he had scarcely his boots off in three years time. The great difficulties to which he was often reduced taught him many excellent lessons, especially the necessity of putting the kingdom in a better state of defence than he found it: not only all his officers, but baron Gyldenstiern, and all his ministers, took every opportunity to possess the king with an ill opinion of the senate, who had the administration of the public affairs during

the minority of this prince, and discovered all the malversations of which they had been guilty, which made so great an impression upon his mind, that he never communicated his councils to them, nor acquainted them with the success of his affairs during the war, but left them to learn them from passengers and masters of ships; and when the king returned to Stockholm in the year 1680, after the conclusion of the peace, he called the states of the kingdom together, and gave them a summary account of the state of affairs during the war, and the issue of it, and at the same time proposed to them to inspect into the cause of the great losses which the kingdom had sustained, in order to find out some means to deliver the government from the difficulties it laboured under, and to consult for its further security.

The causes of all the losses and misfortunes which had happened during the war was easily fixed upon the ministers who had managed the public affairs during the king's minority, who had expended the public treasure and neglected to make a provision for the defence of the kingdom, and therefore a select committee was chosen out of the several orders of the states to enquire into the miscarriages and ill conduct of these ministers, and to pass sentence upon the delinquents; for which purpose the council books were examined, the damages arising from each resolution computed, and every senator who had voted therein was charged with his proportion of it, and that with so much rigour, that their whole estates were confiscated, and were not sufficient to make satisfaction. Whatever faults some of the senators might have committed in their ministerial capacities, certainly this was a very severe method of punishment: if every public minister was to be answerable for the success of every thing
he

he undertook, I believe there are very few who would be fond of receiving such an employment: the senators had undoubtedly been guilty of some faults, but not such as merited this severe punishment.

The states likewise resolved, that the power which the senators had attributed to themselves, which by the way was no more than they had always done before the family Vasa came to the throne, had contributed to produce these bad effects; and therefore declared, that as they (the states) needed no such mediators between the king and them, neither did they find that the article of his majesty's coronation oath, in which he promised to rule the kingdom with the advice of his senators, did oblige him any longer to have their concurrence to any councils he thought proper to take, or to continue their salaries to more of them than he was pleased to employ: whereupon several of them were discarded, and the rest, instead of their former titles of senators of the kingdom, were styled the king's counsellors. The laying aside the senate in this manner was gaining a point towards arbitrary government which no king of Sweden could ever before accomplish, and which afterwards cost the states very dear; but the king had now acquired such a majority in this assembly of his creatures, that, as will hereafter appear, he could do what he pleased; for the states also declared, that although the regents during a minority might be called to an account for their administration, yet his majesty, who received his crown from God, was only accountable to God for his actions, and was tied by no other engagements than what his coronation oath imported, namely, to govern the kingdom according to law.

To

To remedy the great necessities the government was reduced to, and to discharge the great debts contracted during the war, the states came to several very important resolutions: for besides a very large benevolence which was granted to the king, and towards which every person in the kingdom who received wages paid the tenth penny, and every whole farm five crowns, which was near as much as the usual rent of those farms; all the cities paid a considerable contribution, and that for two years, or if a war happened, for four: and moreover a resolution was made to establish a new college of reduction, with a power to re-unite to the crown all such lands as by former kings had been alienated by way of donation or sold at an under value. The choice of the members of this college, and the particulars of their instructions, were left to his majesty, the states only prescribed some general limits, and particularly provided that of all such lands as were re-united, the value of seventy pounds per annum should be left to the possessor.

The care of the future security of the kingdom the states recommended to his majesty, and desired him to make such an establishment for the militia, and preparation for the fleet and the fortresses, as should appear needful.

So favourable was this conjuncture for the advancement of the arbitrary power of the crown, that the king had only to ask whatever he pleased, every order of the state striving which should outbid the others in their concessions. The nobility and gentry, as not being able to subsist upon their own private fortunes without some additional office, and who universally depended upon the king, were obliged to comply with every thing rather than

than hazard their present employments or future hopes of advancement ; their interest therefore obliged them to keep pace with the officers of the army who had seats in the house, and with some others of their brethren, who violently promoted the king's affairs.

The clergy, burghers, and farmers, who were very ignorant in those days, were easily persuaded that all the miseries they had suffered proceeded from the too great power of the nobility ; that the king could never be too much trusted, his majesty having so often exposed his life to the greatest dangers in defence of his subjects, it was their duty to make him all the grateful returns they could : moreover these inferior orders were glad of an opportunity to humble the nobility, who, like little geniuses and persons of no education or sentiment, in prosperity were imperious and tyrannical, and concluded that the burthen falling heavily upon them would redound to their own ease : moreover the people had an excessive affection for the king's person from the good opinion they had of his piety, and an admiration of his courage ; so that he had now the fairest opportunity of laying the foundation for as absolute a sovereignty as any prince in Europe possessed. The project of this great alteration was received, as it is said, from baron Gyldenstiern, a minister of great abilities and as great an enemy against the senate. This man had waited upon the king during the war, and had drawn to himself all the weighty affairs of the state, and undoubtedly flattered himself to hold the same post after this great revolution, which he could never hope to have done if the former constitution had continued ; but he died before he could enjoy any fruits of his diabolical measures.

Upon

Upon this foundation, after the separation of the states, the king set his ministers earnestly to work, and with great application took cognizance of all their proceedings. Every thing relating to foreign affairs was committed to the care of count Oxenstiern, Ehrenstien, and Oernstedt, persons of great abilities: the former was made president of the chancery, who is always regarded as the first minister in Sweden, in the room of count Magnus de la Gardie, and took care to lay open the iniquitous practices of his predecessor, who, with some others of his majesty's ministers, had been corrupted by France, and engaged Sweden in a war of which his majesty had felt the miseries, and was forced to sit down with the loss of some territories in Germany, together with forty sail of ships of war and 100,000 men, all which might have been prevented or repaired if France had not sacrificed Sweden to her own interest: it was likewise discovered that the subsidy was rather distributed by French commissaries and employed in their own service than paid to his majesty, who very often in his greatest distress could not be supplied out of that fund; that the king could neither be master of his own councils, nor make any tolerable figure in Europe, so long as he was esteemed a pensioner of France. These and the like reasons induced the king to order every member of his privy council to give their opinions in writing respecting the measures they thought the most adviseable for him to take in relation to foreign affairs, in which some of them argued very warmly in favour of France; but the reasons of the other side prevailed with the king, and determined him to enter into the guarantee league with Holland.

For the management of the internal affairs of the kingdom the king employed baron Flemings, who being made president
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of the college appointed to make the reduction of the crown lands, began with the examination of the titles of those who held any lands that formerly belonged to the crown, and where any such were found to have been alienated by way of donation for pretended services, they were re-united to the crown without any further dispute, the value of seventy pounds a year being reserved to the possessor; likewise enquiry was made into the price of all such crown lands as had been sold, as well as into the real value of the estate. Where ready money had been paid for it the interest of five per cent. was allowed for it; and if the yearly value of the estate exceeded that interest, the said overplus, and the interest of it at eight per cent. from the first alienation was computed, and frequently made to amount to as much as the capital itself, which being by that means satisfied, the estate returned to the king. Where any of the crown lands had been given in payment of arrears, there no interest was allowed, the capital being accounted unfruitful; so that the yearly value of such lands, together with the interest, was deducted from the principal, which being soon eaten out, not only the lands returned to the king, but the possessor also became indebted to him, and he was to accept it as an act of grace if his majesty took the lands and forgave the debt. By these almost unheard-of arbitrary measures the king recovered a very great revenue, but he reduced most of the principal families in Sweden to beggary; even several of them, whose ancestors as well as themselves had spent all their fortunes in the service of the crown, which considerations could not be regarded, as it was pretended, nor exceptions made in favour of any particular without adding to the discontents of all the rest, who suffered patiently because the case was general.

The same baron Flemming was also appointed president of the treasury and of the college of liquidation, a court erected not only to be a kind of barrier to the treasury, and to keep off all creditors till their accounts were first stated and approved in that college, but also to find out such as were by any means indebted to the king, to form the charge against them, and to demand payment, which was not to be refused under pretence, which was often the case, that the party had greater sums due from the crown, but the king's debt was to be paid first and without any delay, and the party left to state his accounts afterwards in the college of liquidation: moreover such extraordinary severity was used towards many, by making, as they called them, observations upon the price and the time of delivering the species of money, that several of the king's debts were paid without a farthing, and many of the creditors were made debtors to the crown, and payment extorted with the greatest rigour.

The management of the fleet the king committed to baron Wachtmeister, in the room of the great admiral count Steenbeck, who prevailed with his majesty to have it removed from Stockholm, its ordinary station, to a harbour fortified for that purpose, in the province of Bleking, called Carlscrona, where it remains to this day, as being both nearer to Denmark and to Germany, sooner free from ice in the spring, and the adjacent country abounding with timber.

The establishment of the militia the king took under his own particular care, as he had so lately felt the effects of the disorder it had been in, and learnt by experience the necessity of having such a standing force as might answer the ends of its institution.

The regulations which this king made respecting the militia will be set forth in another place, as they are for the most part continued to this day. His majesty likewise published a new law to fix the right of precedence among the nobility and officers, wherein, next after the privy counsellors, the officers are principally considered, each considerable office being ranked according to its dignity, and precedence determined according to that rank, without any respect to birth or quality.

In the next assembly of the states, held in the year 1683, besides a benevolence equal to that granted the last sessions, the king obtained such further advantages as the ends he designed required; for he not only obtained the re-union of the seventy pounds a year which was reserved by the former session, and that without any difficulty, because those of the nobility who had lost the most by the first act of re-union took this opportunity of revenging themselves on the officers of the army and others who had promoted this re-union, and had lost little or nothing by it: but the article of ruling the kingdom according to law was also further explained; and the states declared that the king was not thereby bound to the laws then in being, but might alter the same, and add thereto such constitutions as he thought most useful for the present state of the kingdom; and that whatever instructions he pleased to give to any college or officer, the same were to be a law to them and to all others whom they concerned, with this reservation only, that they hoped his majesty would communicate to the states such laws as were of a general nature, and intended to be binding to the whole kingdom. Moreover the king laid before this assembly the undue proceedings of the ministers at his father's death, whose testament they rescinded, and altered the frame of the government he

had therein prescribed to be observed during his minority; whereupon the states declared that the authors of these alterations were not honest patriots, and left them to the king's justice, promising at the same time, that in case of his majesty's death during the minority of his successor, they would see his testament punctually fulfilled, and the form of government thereby prescribed inviolably observed.

The next assembly of the states, in 1686, renewed the usual benevolence which was asked to enable the king to pay his debts, and made some further concessions in the matter of the reunion, but rather to take off the odium from the king and from his ministers, who had most cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over the people; however these and the like concessions made Charles an absolute monarch, to which his subjects submitted without any contest; and had not the oppressive measures that they were accompanied with made them extremely uneasy, from the good opinion that the people had at first of his majesty's piety, integrity, and courage, there would scarcely have been found ten persons in the kingdom disaffected to the government; but the oppressive manner in which they were deprived of their estates, and to which they supposed they had a just right, created great numbers of discontented people among the nobility and gentry, and the frequent and heavy taxes imposed by the states to fill the king's coffers were no less felt by those of inferior degree; so that Charles lost more in the affections of his subjects than what he gained in his revenue; and those who know the character of the Swedish nation did not scruple to foretel the revolution which happened in the government thirty years after, and which would have happened sooner if the king had not kept the people in awe by the great military force that he

he constantly had on foot, and if the extraordinary character of his son had not made his subjects both admire and fear him. Moreover the distribution of all the employments of any value in the kingdom was a part of the prerogative of his majesty, and the nobility, as well as all the other orders of the state, were under a greater necessity than ever of rendering themselves agreeable to him that they might procure employments; add to this, that Charles had likewise thought fit to cause all who were in office, or who accepted any new office, to renew their oath of fidelity to him, the tenor of which was accommodated to the new form of government: the instructions also of all the governors of provinces and other officers both civil and military, were revised and renewed.

Soon after this change the king caused a new body of ecclesiastical laws to be published, and had all the common laws of the kingdom corrected, made more plain, and full and suitable to the then state of things; yet all this power and provision was not by the king himself deemed sufficient to keep an oppressed people from disorders; nor would it likely have done so long, if the king had not by great application courted the clergy, and by no small degrees of compliance with them, not only in ecclesiastical, but even in civil matters, cultivated their fidelity and affection; and this, because this body of men had always a very great and uncontrollable interest and authority among the common people, and could at their pleasure inflame or appease them.

By the ancient constitution the senators of the kingdom had authority not only to advise the king in the executive power of the laws and in all matters of importance, but in some cases to admonish

admonish and to over-rule him, as he was not at liberty to transact any weighty affairs without the concurrence of a majority in the senate; and although the king chose them, yet the states received their oath, which rather expressed their fidelity to the kingdom in general than to his majesty: their office was for life, and as they were invested with a part of the sovereign power, not only attempts upon their persons, but defamations of them, were accounted treason: but this revolution effectually delivered Charles from this, as he called it, encroachment upon royalty and prerogative, reduced these officers to the title and proper duties of privy-counsellors, and put it into the king's power to employ them as he thought proper, to ask their counsel as he saw occasion, and to lay such of them aside as he found to be convenient, which he accordingly practised. The boundless liberality of the three last sessions of the states left that body little more than its ancient name, and a power to consent to such impositions as the king's occasions required, which he chose rather to receive through their hands than to employ his authority in a matter so apt to increase the general discontent of the kingdom.

Charles was avaricious to such a degree, that by his college of liquidations, which he established himself, he ruined great numbers of his subjects to amass together a bulk of treasure to lie dead in his coffers. Great crowds of nobles, citizens, merchants, farmers, widows, and orphans, reduced to beggary by this chamber, filled the streets of Stockholm, and came every day to the gates of the palace making the most bitter cries, but without producing any effect upon this hard-hearted wretch.

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The queen succoured these poor unhappy people as long as she could, giving them not only her money, her jewels, and her household furniture, but even at last she sold her cloaths to buy them bread; and when this amiable princess had nothing more to give, she threw herself in tears at her husband's feet to desire him to have compassion upon his subjects; but the king answered her very gravely, "Madam, we took you to our bed to give us heirs to the crown, and not to give us advice;" and from that time forward he treated her with such severity, that he accelerated her end.

However Charles did not live long to triumph over the ruin of his subjects and to enjoy the fruits of his insatiable avarice; he died in the year 1697, in the forty-second year of his age, and left his crown to his son Charles the Twelfth, then a minor.

By the laws of Sweden the majority of their kings was fixed to fifteen years; but Charles the Eleventh, who was absolute in every thing, by his testament retarded the majority of his son to eighteen years, and by this disposition favoured the ambitious views of his mother, the widow of Charles the Tenth. This princess was declared by the king her son tutorefs of the young king her grandson, and regent of the kingdom, conjointly with a council of five persons; but Charles the Twelfth, who expressed a desire of governing before he arrived to the age marked out in his father's will, was, in the month of November in the same year that his father died, declared of age by the states, although he was then but fifteen years old.

No

No sooner was Charles the Twelfth crowned, than three powerful princes conspired to take advantage of his youth, and to ruin him entirely: the first was the king of Denmark, Frederick the Fourth; the second, Augustus elector of Saxony and king of Poland; and the third was Peter the Great, czar of Moscow: the preparations that were made by these powerful princes threw Sweden into the greatest consternation; the council were extremely alarmed; all their great generals were dead; and they had every thing to fear under the conduct of a young king, in the eighteenth year of his age, who had never even appeared in council, but with the air of a person who took no thought of any thing. But when the council deliberated, in his presence, upon the danger the kingdom was in, he appeared, for the first time, to be attentive; and when it was proposed to evade the blow by negotiations, Charles all of a sudden got up with an air of confidence, and said, I am resolved never to make an unjust war; and never to finish a just one but with victory; my resolution is taken, I will go and attack the first who shall declare against me, and when I have vanquished him, I hope the others will be afraid of attacking me. Astonished at his discourse, the old counsellors regarded each other without knowing what answer to make him; and ashamed of being less sanguine in their hopes than him, they received his orders for the war with admiration.

Full of the idea of Alexander and of Cæsar, he proposed to himself to imitate those two conquerors in every thing, but in their vices. He was unacquainted with magnificence, with play, and with luxury; he reduced his table to the greatest frugality; his clothes were generally plain and simple; and when he was in the field, he was clothed like a common soldier; he was
very

very temperate in his manner of living, and seldom drank any wine. Charles began this war by sending 8000 men to assist the duke of Holstein, his brother-in-law, who was attacked by the king of Denmark; a Danish army, headed by the king in person, had already ravaged his country, and was then actually besieging one of his principal fortresses: at the same time, in the year 1700, he landed 20,000 men in Zeland, and laid siege to Copenhagen, the inhabitants of which, to prevent the city from being burnt and destroyed, as the Danish troops which were upon the island were soon dispersed, immediately deputies to the king to desire he would not bombard the town. Charles consented to their request on condition of their paying immediately about 80,000 pounds; and at the same time he ordered them to bring all kinds of provisions to his camp, which he promised to pay for with the greatest punctuality; and though he had conquered them he strictly kept his word with them, and made even the meanest of his soldiers do the same; for Charles had some principles of honesty. He kept a strict discipline in his camp, where he had always prayers twice a day, at which he never failed to assist, and to give the example to his soldiers.

The king of Denmark hearing that his enemy was in possession of Zeland, and ready to be master of his capital, was in the greatest confusion, and published an edict, that all those in the different parts of his dominions who would take up arms against the Swedes should be intitled to their freedom: however Charles sent to the king of Denmark to let him know, that he only made war to oblige him to make peace, and that he must resolve to do justice to the duke of Holstein, or to see Copenhagen destroyed and his kingdom laid waste by fire and sword. The

king of Denmark was very glad to extricate himself out of this disagreeable situation so easily, and immediately consented to indemnify the duke for all the damages which he had sustained during the war, for all the expences which he had been at to defend himself, and to guaranty his dominions in future. Upon which the king of Sweden withdrew his forces from Denmark, and led them into Livonia against the king of Poland, who was then besieging Riga; and at the same time the czar of Moscovy was advancing at the head of 100,000 men into the same province.

Before Charles could come to the relief of Riga, the Swedish garrison alone had forced the king of Poland to raise the siege; the king therefore bent his course directly towards Narva, which was then besieged by the czar, who, when he heard that the king of Sweden was upon the march to relieve the place, took every precaution to defend himself; he fortified his camp with the greatest care, and not content with the army which he then commanded, he made another army of 30,000 men advance towards his provinces, although the king of Sweden had no more than 20,000 men in his whole army. It is true, the czar supposed that he should be able, with all his forces, to surround the king of Sweden, and to take him prisoner.

Charles advanced by forced marches at the head of only 8000 men, before the czar's second army arrived, and immediately, without waiting for the rest of his army to come up, attacked the Russian out-posts, which he carried, the one after the other, in two days; and appeared before the Russian camp, with his 8000 men, which was fortified with 150 pieces of brass cannon, and where there were 80,000 men encamped; and after giving his men a very short repose, gave orders for the attack: several
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of his old officers, seeing such orders given by a boy not yet eighteen years of age, represented to him the danger he incurred by such a measure; upon which Charles, smiling, asked them whether they had the least doubt that he could not with 8000 brave Swedes break through a body of 80,000 Moscovites? are not you of my opinion? have not I two very great advantages over the enemy? the one, that their cavalry cannot be of any use to them; and the other, that from the narrowness of the place, their great numbers will only incommode them. The officers were astonished to hear his just reasons; and about noon the 30th of November 1700 the attack was made. The Swedish cannon, which were well served, soon made a breach in the entrenchments, and then the Swedes advanced, with their bayonets fixed, and with a great snow at their backs, which was driven furiously by the wind in the faces of the Moscovites. In less than three hours all the Moscovite entrenchments were forced, and all the right wing of the army driven to the river Narva; where, in their confusion, they broke down the bridge, and great numbers were drowned; but all the general officers and the rest of the army submitted to the king of Sweden, and laid down their arms: above 40,000 Moscovites, with all their officers marched bare-headed, officers and soldiers, before less than 7000 Swedes; the soldiers in passing before the king laid down their muskets and their swords, and the officers carried their colours, and laid them at the king of Sweden's feet: after sending all these prisoners disarmed into their own country, Charles entered into Narva to repose his troops for some days.

On the other hand the czar, who went imprudently himself to bring up his second army, learnt, when he was only two days march from Narva, the defeat of his forces, gave over

the design which he had in view of attacking Charles with the undisciplined and unexperienced troops which he then commanded, and returned towards Moscow.

The king of Poland who was too well acquainted with the character of his enemy, who had vanquished the Danes and the Moscovites, not to be persuaded that he would turn his arms against him as soon as possible, entered into a still stricter alliance with the czar of Moscovy. Augustus engaged himself to furnish the czar with 50,000 German troops, which they were to hire from the different princes of the empire, and which the czar was to keep in his pay, who on his side was to send 50,000 Moscovites into Poland to learn the art of war; and moreover promised to pay to king Augustus, in two years, about 450,000*l*.

Charles the Twelfth, who was soon informed of this treaty, resolved to prevent them at least from carrying it into execution; and very early in the spring marched his whole army towards Riga, where was an army of Polish and Saxon troops, commanded by the field-marshal de Steinau, posted along the river Duna, which is very broad in this place, to dispute the passage of it. But Charles, under cover of a cloud of smoke which he made, by setting fire to a large quantity of wet straw, and which the wind drove gently upon the enemy's camp, so that they could not see the motions of the Swedish army, passed the river without any loss, repulsed the attacks of the Poles and Saxons, and gave them a total defeat; afterwards he directed his march to Mittau, the capital of Courland, which, with all that duchy, submitted to his orders. He then advanced into Lithuania, which likewise submitted; and at this time, as it is said, he formed the plan of dethroning the king of Poland; which indeed,

deed, by the intrigues of the cardinal primate, and of the family of Sobiesky, he at length effected.

When the king of Poland saw the intrigues and the party that were forming against him in that kingdom, he resolved either to crush his enemies, and preserve his crown, or lose it by a battle; therefore he used his utmost efforts to decide this great affair. All his Saxon troops were arrived upon the frontiers of Poland, which together with the army of the crown, as it is called, and some troops raised by the nobility, who were still in his interest, formed an army of 24,000 men; and with this army he attacked the king of Sweden, who had only 12,000 men with him, near Warsaw. The Saxon troops, led on by their prince, did wonders; Augustus rallied them three times in very good order; but the Poles, who formed his right wing, ran away immediately, so that the king of Poland was overpowered by numbers, as well as by the intrepidity of his enemy, who gained a complete victory: all the king of Poland's camp and military chest fell into his hands.

Augustus, after making some small resistance with his Saxon troops, for he now plainly perceived that there was no dependence to be placed in the Poles, retired into Saxony; and Stanislaus Leczinski, through the influence of the king of Sweden, and of the cardinal primate, was elected and crowned king of Poland; after the diet had passed a vote that Augustus elector of Saxony was no longer able to wear that crown.

The king of Sweden finding he had no more victories to gain in Poland, followed Augustus into Saxony, which he laid under a heavy contribution; but at the same time he kept up such
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strict discipline among his troops, and preserved such good order wherever he appeared, that the inhabitants had nothing to fear.

Augustus, seeing himself reduced to this distressed situation, and having no friends but the Moscovites, at that time little better than Barbarians, wrote himself to the king of Sweden to demand a peace; which was immediately granted, on condition that he renounced for ever his crown, and that he acknowledged Stanislaus for the legal king; that he promised never to remount the throne of Poland, even after the death of Stanislaus; that he renounced all the treaties which he had made against Sweden, and particularly those which he had made with the czar of Moscovy; and that he released all the prisoners which he had made, particularly the princess Sobiesky; with some other articles of less moment. These conditions, drawn up by the king himself, were delivered by count Piper to the plenipotentiaries of Augustus, with this expression, Such is the will of the king my master, and he never changes his resolutions.

Augustus was obliged to sign these articles, and thought himself happy that he could get his enemy out of Saxony at so cheap a rate. Charles left this electorate in September 1707, with an army of 43,000 men (who were almost loaded with the spoils of Poland and Saxony, and his coffers in such a state, that he was not necessitated to draw any subsistence from Sweden) with an intention to dethrone the czar: besides this army, the count Lewenhaupt, one of his best generals, was in Poland with another army of 20,000 men; and he had still another army in Finland of 15,000 men; and a great body of new recruits, which were upon the road coming from Sweden. The czar was then in the North of Poland, endeavouring to re-animate a party

party which Augustus had abandoned; and when he heard of the approach of the king of Sweden, he gave strict orders to all his generals never to wait the approach of Charles, except their forces were greatly superior to his.

Charles left 10,000 men in Poland to assist Stanislaus, and continued his march after the czar, whom he overtook in Lithuania, and forced him immediately to retire to the river Berezina, near Borislow, where he fortified himself with an intention to prevent his enemy from passing this river: but the king seeing the czar's design, left some regiments on the opposite side of the river, as if he was determined to pass it in the sight of the enemy; and at the same time he marched three or four leagues towards the source of the river, threw a bridge over it, and passed it without any opposition; attacked the enemy when they did not expect him, and totally defeated them. The czar seeing this victorious prince in his empire, which was become the theatre of war, and all his projects for encouraging the arts and commerce overturned, and himself in danger of being dethroned, made some proposals of peace; but Charles, who had not been accustomed to make peace with his enemies but in their capitals, returned for answer, that he would treat with the czar at Moscow. It is true the emperor's army continued to retire before the Swedes, through the province of Smolensko, and the rear guard of the Moscovites was frequently severely treated by the Swedish dragoons: but all on a sudden the king, who was at the head of 10,000 men, 6000 horse, and 4000 foot, the advanced guard of his army, found himself attacked near Smolensko, with a body of 10,000 horse, and 6000 calmucks, who fell upon him with such impetuosity, that the Swedes began in many places to give way, but the king rallied them again in an instant,

instant, and defeated intirely this corps. The czar, who had now no forces to oppose this hero, was in the greatest distress; his enemy was in the heart of his country, and only 90 leagues from his capital, which was likewise in the greatest confusion, and he had no army to stop his progress.

On the other hand, the king of Sweden, who, though but young in years, had hitherto acted as an able and experienced general, formed a resolution which astonished his whole army, and which ended in his ruin. The Swedish army had used almost all their provisions, and count Piper earnestly entreated the king to wait for the general Lewenhaupt, who was marching to join him with a body of 15,000 men, and a great convoy of provisions, and then to pursue the czar to Moscow. But Charles, who seldom took any counsel, would not hear this judicious advice, but suffered himself to be enticed by a vagabond, who promised to join him with a body of Cossacks, that were ready to revolt from the czar's government, and to bring a great convoy of provisions with them, and quitted the road to Moscow; directing his march southwards towards the Ukraine, to wait for the reinforcement of Cossacks; but alas! the czar who was informed of the Cossacks designs, prevented them, and Charles found himself in the midst of the enemy's country, without provisions, and without any hopes of receiving any, but from general Lewenhaupt, who, as I have before observed, was marching to join him.

The czar saw that he would be irrecoverably ruined if Lewenhaupt joined the king with his convoy, and resolved to attack him before he could join the army; he was at the head of 40,000 men, and the Swedes were not quite 16,000: the battle

was fought near Lesno, and the Swedes immediately threw the Moscovite army into the greatest confusion, and they began to fly on all sides; but the czar did this day what he never could do before, he rallied his troops. The Swedish general, who had express orders to join his master, continued his march, supposing that the czar would not attack him again, nor even have the resolution to follow him; but however the next day the czar attacked him again, and continued to do so for five days successively, and still with fresh troops; so that though he lost a great number of men, he at length gained his point, destroyed all this convoy, and Lewenhaupt was glad to escape with 5000 men, and four days after joined the king; who now saw to what a distressed situation his imprudent conduct had reduced him: he was in the midst of a desert country, surrounded by his enemies, having no communication with his own country, nor with Poland, and in the midst of the most severe winter that had been felt in Europe for near a century before. His fine army, which were a little before in such a flourishing situation, were now reduced to 24,000 men, who were ready to be starved with hunger, and perish with the cold of the season: he heard that they had raised a great sum of money, and a considerable body of recruits, in Sweden, to assist him, but all communication was cut off between him and them; and what was the worst circumstance for Charles, the czar was now become as active and as full of stratagems as himself, and his troops almost as well disciplined as the Swedes were. The king however was in some measure recompenced by the chief of the Cossacks for the injuries he had received; the latter behaved as a faithful ally, and subsisted the Swedish army for near four months, otherwise they would have all perished with hunger and misery. However, notwithstanding Charles was in this

distressed situation, he had still hopes that with his little army he should be able to penetrate to Moscow.

As soon as the severity of the season permitted it he laid siege to Pultawa, where the czar had a great magazine; but the garrison were soon relieved by the Moscovite army which was in the neighbourhood, and this brought on the famous battle of Pultawa, wherein, after a most obstinate engagement, Charles disputing the ground by inches, was obliged to give way, and was at length totally defeated. The Swedish army was only 21,000 men, of which near 5000 were Cossacks and Tartars, and the Moscovite army was 100,000.

Charles, wounded and followed by the scattered remains of his army, took refuge in the Turkish dominions, and was now regarded in Europe as a ruined prince.

The battle of Pultawa was as a signal for a revolution in Poland: Augustus had returned again into that kingdom, protested against his abdication and against the peace which he had made with Charles, whom he accused of robbery and barbarity, because he did not fear him any longer; and the honest pope of those days annulled the oaths of fidelity which the people had made to Stanislaus, who was obliged to give way to the arms of his enemy, and the whole kingdom returned again under the dominion of king Augustus.

The power and grandeur of Sweden were now at their last period: all the powers of the northern parts of Europe had regarded for some time the Swedish power and dominion with envy and jealousy. The czar, who was become very powerful, took

took every prudent measure to reap the fruits of his victory : he immediately entered Finland at the head of a great army and sent another army into Livonia : his ideas of war were very different from those of the king of Sweden ; the latter made war to gain glory and reputation : he had succoured his allies and crushed his enemies without thinking of receiving any advantage from his victories : the former conducted himself more like a politic prince and less as a hero, and would now only succour the king of Poland on condition that the latter would cede Livonia to him, and that this fertile province, for which Augustus had began the war, should remain in the hands of the Moscovites for ever.

The king of Denmark, forgetting the peace which Charles had so generously given him, renewed his pretensions to Holstein and Bremen ; and, in fact, almost all the German princes had at this time some claim upon the different parts of the Swedish dominions. The king of Denmark landed 17,000 men of his best troops in Scania, under the command of the count de Reventlaw, and soon after made himself master of the town of Helsingbourg.

Sweden was now governed by a regency, composed of some of the senators which the king had established when he parted from Stockholm, between whom and the whole body of the senate, who were of the opinion that the government by the ancient constitution of Sweden appertained to them, there was a continual jealousy, so that the state suffered considerably by their divisions ; but when they heard that the king was at the mercy of the Turks, and that the Danes had made a descent in Scania, all their jealousy ceased, and they were unanimous in taking

proper measures to save the kingdom. They had at this time only 8000 regular troops in Sweden ; for although Charles had gained many victories with very small armies, nevertheless the great number of battles which he had fought for nine years successively, and the necessity of recruiting continually his army and of keeping garrisons in all his fortifications, had cost this kingdom above 260,000 men : however, as there was at this time a spirit of emulation and of glory diffused even among the common people in Sweden, every one endeavoured to signalize himself to drive the Danes out of the kingdom. The general Steinbock, by order of the regency, put himself at the head of these 8000 regular troops and about 12,000 militia, and went in search of the enemy, who were now ravaging the country in a barbarous manner, and came up with them within three leagues of Helsingbourg, and finding his militia transported with fury to attack the Danes, he led them on immediately to battle : their intrepidity and order in the attack were astonishing, as two regiments of these farmers, who had only taken up arms three weeks before, destroyed all the king of Denmark's guards, so that scarcely ten of them escaped, and the whole Danish army was entirely defeated, and retired under the cannon of Helsingbourg.

Five days after this battle the remains of the Danish army quitted Sweden with great precipitation ; and as they could not carry over their horses with them, because they would not let them fall into the enemies hands, they killed them in the neighbourhood of Helsingbourg, and set fire to all their provisions and baggage, leaving 4000 men wounded in the town, who all died for want of provisions, as their countrymen had destroyed all the provisions of the country round to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Swedes. Thus was the king of Denmark
punished

punished for his perfidious conduct towards Charles who had treated him so generously upon a former occasion, and who, notwithstanding the distressed situation in which he found himself, was still in hopes of dethroning the czar with a Turkish army. He at first met with some opposition to his designs at the Porte from the intrigues and money of the czar and of the king of Poland, who had corrupted the principal ministers of the divan, but at length, after having caused the grand vizier to be deposed, he prevailed with the Porte to declare war against the Moscovites; and certainly, if Charles had taken proper measures upon this occasion, and attacked Moscovy on the other side with a body of Swedish troops, in all probability he would have gained his ends.

The czar on hearing this news committed the same fault that the king of Sweden had committed with him; he despised his enemy, and having changed the siege of Riga into a blockade, assembled an army of near 100,000 men upon the frontiers of Poland, and with this army he marched through Moldavia and Walachia to support Cantemir prince of Moldavia, who had been raised to this dignity by the officers of the Ottoman Porte, and who afterwards betrayed them to the czar; he flattered himself that the vanquisher of Charles the Twelfth, at the head of an army of 100,000 men who had been trained up to war for ten years before, could readily vanquish an ignorant grand vizier, bred up in luxury, with an army raised in haste without discipline and without experience; which undoubtedly he would have done if he had taken proper precaution; but he was deceived, as Charles the Twelfth had been in the Ukraine. The particular history of this war will hereafter appear when we come to examine the state of Russia; I shall only observe here, that the

czar made peace with the Turks without the king of Sweden being made any party therein, and that Charles, finding himself so cruelly disappointed, behaved afterwards more like a madman than like a great captain. If he had returned immediately into his own territories, when he saw that he had nothing to hope from the Turks, he might have still retrieved his affairs; but he obstinately determined to remain inactive in the Turkish dominions for near a year without going out of his house.

In the mean time the dominions of Sweden were attacked on every side by powerful armies: the general Steinbock, it is true, made head against them all in Germany for some time, but at last he was obliged to give way to numbers, and all the Swedish dominions on the east side of the Baltic fell into the enemies hands. At the same time the Moscovites gained a victory over the Swedes in Finland, who seeing themselves attacked on every side, and without a chief, thought no more of their former victories and valour, and being inferior in numbers to their enemies, who were now also become warlike and intrepid, gave way on every side.

All Europe supposed that the king of Sweden was dead, and the council of the regency which he had established at Stockholm when he parted from thence received no intelligence of him, the senate came in a body to the princess Ulricka Eleonora, the king's sister, and desired her to take the charge of the regency during this long absence of her brother; she accepted it; but when she saw that the senate would oblige her to make peace with the czar and the king of Denmark, who attacked Sweden on every side, this princess justly concluded that her brother would never ratify the peace, and therefore she resigned the
regency,

regency, and sent a long detail of it to the king in Turkey. When Charles received this packet he fell into a violent passion against the senate; he had been bred up with the ideas of an absolute government which his father had established in the kingdom; he had forgotten that the senate had formerly governed the kingdom conjointly with the kings, and regarded this body as so many servants who governed by the authority and order of their master, and therefore he wrote to them that he would be instantly obeyed: and to prevent these attempts against his authority in future he resolved to return into Sweden, and to defend his own country; and after having obtained a proper escort from the Ottoman Porte to the frontiers of their dominions, he parted with the greatest diligence for Stralsund, the only place except Wismar that was under his power on the east side of the Baltic sea, where he soon after sustained a long siege against the united forces of the czar of Moscow, the kings of Poland, Prussia, and Denmark, and against the forces of George the First, king of England, as elector of Hanover.

Sweden had now not only lost all her provinces on the east side of the Baltic, but she had likewise lost all her commerce, and had neither money nor credit; all her old veteran troops were destroyed in battle, or perished by misery; near 100,000 Swedes were prisoners in Moscow, and near 50,000 sold as slaves to the Turks and to the Tartars; so that there was likewise a great want of men in this kingdom: but as soon as the king returned into his own dominions again, the courage of his subjects revived; a kind of heroic enthusiasm diffused itself among all orders of men; the young farmers presented themselves in crowds to enlist as soldiers, though they had not then men enough left to cultivate the land.

Whilst

Whilst Charles was at Stralfund he married his sister Ulricka Eleonora to the prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel, because he had the reputation of being a good general, and soon after declared him commander in chief of all his forces in Sweden.

The elector of Hanover had bought the duchies of Bremen and Verden of the king of Denmark, and was in possession of them; the king of Prussia had taken possession of Pomerania; the czar of Livonia, and of all the northern provinces of Sweden so far west as the Bothnic gulph, and the king of Denmark had taken possession of Holstein; Wismar was besieged by the Hanoverian and Danish troops, and soon after obliged to surrender; and another army of Moscovites, Danes, Saxons, and Prussians besieged Stralfund, which, notwithstanding the intrepidity and almost invincible courage of Charles who commanded there in person, was at length obliged to capitulate, and the king retired into Sweden, which was threatened likewise with an invasion from the czar, who was then cruising upon the Baltic sea with twenty sail of ships of war and 150 sail of transports, which carried 30,000 men.

When Charles arrived in Sweden, instead of returning to his capital to regulate the disorders of the government, he passed the winter at Carlscroon to see the equipment of a new fleet, and at the same time gave orders for making new levies of men in all his dominions: his ideas of sovereignty were such, that he firmly believed his subjects were only born to follow him to the war, and he had likewise accustomed all the common people to believe the same thing. He enrolled all the young men who were above fifteen years of age, so that in many parts of Sweden there were whole villages in which remained old men, women,
and

and children: but to support the expences of the war, as all the national treasure was exhausted, the king thought it necessary to take the little substance which the people had left; so that there was no kind of extortion which was not invented under the name of tax. They visited all the houses, and took a certain quantity of the provisions which they found laid up in the king's magazines; they bought up for the king's account all the iron that was in the kingdom, for which the government paid bills and sold it out for money; all those who wore wigs, silk cloaks, or swords with handles gilded with gold were heavily taxed: they likewise laid a heavy tax upon chimnies.

These oppressive measures would have made all the Swedes revolt against any other king but Charles the Twelfth; but the meanest farmer in Sweden, seeing his king lead a life still more hard and frugal than himself, and struggling to defend his country against a combination of powerful enemies, regarded him with a generous pity, submitted without murmuring to all these hardships, and pressed forward to give him assistance: the public dangers made them forget their private miseries.

During the winter 1715, Charles raised and disciplined a considerable army, so that in the month of March 1716, to the astonishment of all Europe, although his country was threatened with so many powerful enemies, he had not only put all his dominions in a state of defence, but he entered Norway at the head of 20,000 men. This was such an extraordinary attempt, that the king of Denmark had not even made any preparations to oppose him, and the unaccountable inactivity of the czar, who had promised his allies to invade Sweden in the spring 1716, greatly favoured his design.

Charles and his now prime minister, the Baron de Gortz, soon perceived that the czar was highly displeased with his allies, and was moreover fearful that his troops were not yet sufficiently disciplined to invade a nation where a body of farmers hastily armed had destroyed the flower of the Danish army, and where there were such a number of defiles, that 1000 men could often defend themselves against 50,000; and therefore he formed the prudent resolution to make peace with the czar, whose great genius and power were now known to all Europe, by sacrificing Livonia and some of the northern provinces, and by joining their forces to crush the kings of Poland, Prussia, and Denmark: but Charles rarely made any good resolution without joining some chimerical project to it.

George the First, king of England, had displeased him on account of Bremen and Verden, and perhaps justly, and therefore nothing would satisfy his revenge but driving him out of England, and placing the Pretender on the throne. If Charles had considered that Great Britain had just before finished a war with France victoriously, and that the military forces of the kingdom were at that time in exceeding good order, he must certainly have seen that this was a very ridiculous undertaking, even for the united fleets and forces of Russia and Sweden.

The czar wanted to have an establishment in Germany; he had even almost engaged the duke of Mecklinbourg to sell him the sovereignty of his duchy. All the allies were much offended against this measure, as they did not chuse to have such a powerful and terrible neighbour: however, the better to hide the secret negotiations between Charles and him, the czar always amused the allies with hopes; whilst the Swedes made themselves

masters of the greatest part of Norway, as the whole kingdom was only defended by 11,000 men, who were soon destroyed and made prisoners, and Charles was advanced very near to Christiana, but as he had taken no precaution to form a magazine for the support of his troops, as soon as the Danish fleet and army approached to defend the kingdom, want of provisions obliged him to retire into Sweden to wait the effects of the negotiations of his minister the baron Gortz, who had likewise been into the southern parts of Europe to treat with the friends of the Pretender, and to Moscow to prepare the czar for this great enterprize.

When Gortz returned into Sweden he found his master at the head of 35,000 well disciplined troops, and all his coasts well guarded by the militia: he only wanted money, but his credit was exhausted both within and without the kingdom. France had furnished him with some small subsidies during the last years of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth; but the regent duke of Orleans, who pursued a very different plan of government, discontinued the payment of them. Spain promised to pay the king of Sweden a subsidy when his intention to dethrone the king of England came to be known; but her finances were in such bad order that she was not in a state to pay it. Finding his master in such distress, the minister de Gortz invented the project to make large pieces of copper, with the marks of the prince upon them, circulate as money.

Voltaire and other authors who have related this matter were very much misinformed about it, asserting that a piece of copper of the intrinsic value of half a sol was circulated, with the king's stamp upon it, for forty sols; but the fact was not

so; the plates of copper which were stamped at this time, and which circulated for some time after in Sweden, were so near the intrinsic value, that afterwards, when the price of copper rose in the European markets, the Swedish money was bought up by foreign merchants, exported, and a considerable profit gained upon it; so that the government was forced to forbid the exportation, to call in their plates of copper, which were rather inconvenient it is true for circulation, and to circulate small bank notes for the value of them, which practice is continued to this day. Gortz wanted to lay a tax upon the clergy, and this was the finishing stroke towards making him execrable to the whole nation: the Lutheran clergy followed in some measure the steps of their predecessors of the church of Rome, by making their cause the cause of God, and called Gortz publicly a deist, because he demanded money of them: all the other ministers were likewise jealous of him, because they perceived that he was unrivalled in the king's confidence. As soon as Gortz had arranged the finances a little, and provided for the circulation of those plates of copper, he immediately left Stockholm to finish the negotiations with the czar, which were soon after settled: the conditions of this peace, and of the future alliance which was to change the face of Europe, were nearly as follows.

The czar retained Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia, which were to be annexed to the Moscovite dominions, and restored to Charles Finland and the island of Aland: he consented to unite his forces with those of Sweden to re-establish Stanislaus upon the throne of Poland, and even promised to send an army of 80,000 men into that kingdom to dethrone Augustus a second time, in whose favour he had made war for ten years: he consented to furnish shipping to the king of Sweden to transport 10,000 men
into

into England and 30,000 into Germany: the united forces of the czar and Charles were to attack the king of England in his Hanoverian dominions, and particularly in Bremen and Verden; the same troops were likewise to re-establish the duke of Holstein, and to force the king of Prussia to accept of a treaty and to restore Pomerania. Count Flemming, the minister of the king of Poland, was the first who entertained a suspicion of the intention of the czar and Charles; and Augustus was in no small confusion when he saw the storm gathering on every side; moreover the Polish nobility were confederated against him, and the czar had 100 gallies near Dantzic, and 80,000 men encamped upon the frontiers of Poland. However the king of Sweden, the better to hide his designs, and to avoid being inactive while the preparations were making for carrying their great plan into execution, undertook a second time the conquest of Norway, in the month of October 1718: he had so well taken his measures that he had the greatest hopes of making himself master of the whole kingdom in six months; he had likewise in a manner neglected his German provinces, from a supposition that his new alliance with the czar would very soon enable him to retake them. Soon after he entered Norway he undertook the siege of Frederickshall, a strong fortress, situated between the towns of Bahus and Anslo, in the beginning of the month of December, when all the earth was frozen up and the cold very intense; but nothing could stop the impetuosity of the Swedes at this time, seeing their king at their head and partaking of their fatigues equally with the common soldier: his constitution, which was hardened by eighteen years fatigue, was become like iron, so that he slept in the open camp in Norway in the middle of the winter upon straw, and only covered with his cloak, without suffering in his health: with such a strength of constitution,

and such an unshaken resolution that the greatest adversity could not depress, Charles would always be a formidable enemy. On the 11th of December the king went about nine o'clock in the evening to visit the trenches, and by exposing himself too much to a battery of cannon which was pointed against the place where he was making his observation, he was killed, as it is said, with a cannon ball: and thus fell one of the most extraordinary men whom this or any other country ever produced.

Charles, to do him justice, was a man of probity and honour, who never broke his word nor attacked any of his neighbours unjustly: he had a firmness of mind which the greatest prosperity could not elate, nor the greatest adversity at all depress. If he had been tinged ever so little with the prudence of Gustavus Vasa, he would have been one of the most formidable princes that Europe ever produced: on the contrary, when he had conquered all his enemies, and gained an immortal name, his obstinacy in pushing things to the greatest extremity was the cause of all the losses which he sustained in the Ukraine; his obstinacy kept him five years in Turkey, and gave his enemies the time to over-run all his German provinces: his liberality degenerated into profusion, and reduced Sweden to such a state of poverty that she has never since recovered it: his courage, imprudently pushed to an extremity, was the cause of his death. He was just to the meanest of mankind, but had no idea of being merciful, so that his justice was sometimes cruelly exercised: his great qualities, pushed to an excess, were the cause of his and his country's unhappiness. It has been said that he wished to imitate the character of Alexander of Macedon; but this was not the case, for he never attacked any person, but was very implacable in his vengeance, especially when his
enemies

enemies attempted to treat his subjects or his allies ill without a cause. He was the first prince who ever had the ambition of conquering without the desire of increasing his dominions, or of enriching his country by it: he conquered kingdoms to have the pleasure of giving them to others: his passion for glory and for vengeance prevented him from being a good politician. He was always modest in his account of a victory, and firm after a defeat: when he saw the duke of Holstein, his favourite and brother-in-law, killed before him, he covered his face with his two hands, and for three or four minutes shed a flood of tears, but immediately after re-assumed his former intrepidity and tranquillity as if nothing had happened. Charles was always disposed to act nobly and generously, even to his most implacable enemies, when he saw that they acknowledged his superiority. He was hard to his subjects as well as to himself, counting their lives and fatigues as well as his own of no consequence. The only generous enemy whom he had to contend with was the czar of Moscovy, and the only contemptible ones were the kings of Denmark and Poland. He always appeared to be very pious, and never failed to attend at prayers twice a day with the meanest of his soldiers: he was an enemy to the common vices of mankind, but he carried all the heroic virtues to such an excess, that they often became as dangerous as their opposite vices. Upon the whole, Charles seems to have been an original character, rather to be admired than to be imitated, and which should serve as a lesson to princes to prefer the good and happiness of their subjects to the chimerical phantom of glory, and the desire of conquest.

After the death of the king they raised the siege of Frederickshall, and every thing changed in a moment: the Swedes being
tired

tired out, and almost all their treasure exhausted by the continual wars of this hero, were more distressed than flattered by the glory which he had gained, and thought of nothing else but to make peace with their enemies: they had resolved upon shaking off the yoke of absolute sovereignty when the king was killed at Frederickshall, but the task was attended with great difficulty; for although the ancient nobility longed for the restoration of their lost liberty and property, of which they had been deprived through the great exactions and cruelties of Charles the Eleventh, yet the younger nobility, who were grown to a prodigious number under the young king's warlike expeditions, found no greater pleasure than to spend their blood, for riches they had little or none, in acquiring the chimerical laurels of a mistaken glory. This enthusiasm had infected the whole nation; for Charles the Twelfth, by a very prudent maxim, rewarded this kind of merit in a great degree, so that many who had been common soldiers were raised in less than ten years to the dignity of colonels and generals; and there was not a common farmer's son in Sweden who did not respire the sublime air of glory and conquest. In the mean time the treasure which Charles the Eleventh had left behind him, and for the accumulation of which he had made the greatest part of the nobility beggars, was squandered away; trade and navigation were ruined, industry flighted, husbandry neglected, arts and sciences despised, the people oppressed, and all the young men in the kingdom destroyed or sold as slaves among the Moscovites and Tartars. The death of Charles the Twelfth was not a sufficient remedy for such pressing evils; it was to be sought for likewise in the succession to the throne.

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The young duke of Holstein was by the last will of Charles the Twelfth appointed his successor, who, by being his nearest relation by blood, could not much deviate from his principles, especially as his father had suffered so much for the common cause.

Happily for Sweden there was a younger sister to Charles, Ulricka Eleonora, who had married the prince of Hesse, and since the act which the states passed in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus in favour of his daughter Christina, the females are not excluded from the throne; therefore a scheme was formed by some of the ancient nobility to place her upon the throne to the prejudice of the duke of Holstein, regarding this as the only means that was left to restore their liberties and to save their country from ruin. An assembly of the states was called, and after some debates this princess was declared queen of Sweden, but not before they had obliged her to renounce solemnly all hereditary right to the crown, to the end that she might receive it freely from the states; and moreover she promised, by repeated oaths, that she would never attempt to re-establish arbitrary power.

The following year this princess ceded the crown to her husband, and engaged the states to elect him king; but before his accession to the throne the states then assembled agreed upon a total change in the government, which could not be well opposed, as the queen knew too well the duke of Holstein's pretensions, and that he had still a strong party in the kingdom; and the king, being a stranger, thought fit to content himself with a new dignity which so much flattered his ambition.

Thus was liberty again introduced into this kingdom, not upon the plan that it was in the reigns of the ancient kings of Sweden before Charles the Eleventh, but upon an entire new plan, which limited the power of the crown more than ever it had been limited before, and indeed more than that of Poland is at present; for by this plan of government the king was to govern only with the advice and consent of the senate, and whenever any debates arose in the assembly the king was to acquiesce in the decision of the majority: it was even declared to be high treason for any person to attempt to change or to make any alteration in any of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, which were then likewise declared to consist in the rules and orders which were laid down for the management of the government, for settling the rights of the king, the states, and the people, in the king's assurance, or an act which the king at his accession confirmed by a solemn oath, being an abridgment of those duties which he was obliged to observe; in the privileges of the nobility, containing a confirmation of the immunities which this order by ancient as well as by modern laws were entitled to above the rest of their fellow subjects; and in the oath of supremacy, to which the king himself, as well as every subject was to submit, and which consisted of a solemn vow of not prevaricating, infringing, or in any manner dispensing with the above-mentioned laws. By this plan of government the king of Sweden, in his representative dignity, was regarded as a single person, but not so with regard to the royal power and authority, for in that respect the king and the senate conjointly constituted the majesty of the kingdom.

The senate consisted of twelve members, called senators of the kingdom; they were the highest in rank in the kingdom, as they

they partook of the royal dignity: they were invested with a part of the legislative power as far as it concerned special cases, and with the whole executive power during the interval of the diet, but under the restriction that the states might recal and alter what they had done, and likewise call them to an account for their behaviour; they were besides entrusted with the management of the whole government: in their deliberations and resolutions they proceeded by the majority of votes, the youngest of them beginning to vote, and so going on to the king, who had a double vote, and no more, except the votes were equal, and he had likewise the casting vote: they had likewise the casting vote in particular cases whenever the opposite parties of the states were equal; and they were moreover the high court of justice, or the last appeal, which is commonly called the appeal to the king, in criminal matters only, for in civil there was an appeal from them to the states as the last resort: they called the states together in the king's name, which in fact was only a piece of formality, since by this plan of government the states were obliged to assemble every third year, or whenever urgent necessity required their presence, which necessity however the senate was obliged to acquaint them with. The senators were elected in the following manner: out of the candidates the states proposed three, of whom the king, at his own pleasure, could chuse one.

The king's cabinet or privy council was composed of four of the members of the senate, who had their voices and the king the casting one: nothing was transacted in this council but what related to the king's private affairs and to preferments, to which the senate proposed three of the candidates, leaving the nomination of either of them to the majority of the cabinet council;

so that the king had not the power to prefer any person who was not proposed by the senate, which was the source of all the differences that arose between the king and the senate in the last reign. Edicts, mandates, ordinances, commissions, and whatever else belonged to the jurisdiction of the senate, were issued under the king's name and seal; but when Adolphus Frederick, the late king, refused to sign such orders, the senators ordered a stamp to be made in imitation of his hand, which they often used for fear of being troublesome to his majesty when he was not in good humour. The senators within as well as without the cabinet were obliged to keep an exact journal of their transactions, which at the diet were laid before the secret committee. The absolute legislative power was lodged in the authority of the state, but they had nothing to do with the execution, which belonged to the senate, under the before-mentioned restrictions.

The states of the kingdom have always been composed of four orders, the nobility, clergy, citizens, and farmers. Among the nobility the eldest son of the eldest branch of each family has by hereditary right a vote in the diet, as being *caput familiæ*, or head of the family, of which there are about 1000 in Sweden, together with the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and one captain of each regiment; they keep their seats according to the antiquity of their family, and not according to their rank or functions: they assemble at their own expence at Stockholm, or send their deputies, and elect their speaker, who has the title of land marshal, by a majority of votes; he has, by a free gift of the states, a gratuity of about five thousand pounds at the end of the diet: they are divided into counts, barons, and simple noblemen. The king had the right according to this plan of

government to create a nobleman, but it depended upon the assembly of the nobles to receive him into their body and to suffer him to have a seat in their house. They enjoy very large and important immunities, such as being alone entitled to the high offices of the crown, to all the principal offices in the army, and are free from the land and capitation tax: their estates are liable to no other expence but what their improvement requires. No citizen has a right to purchase a nobleman's estate; but since the nobility have been exposed to a continual decay in their finances, on account of the subdivisions of their estates among their growing families, they have considerably incumbered them, and thereby empower citizens to take possession of them. A nobleman's daughter also, by marrying below the rank of nobility, not only enjoys the privilege of nobility herself, but transfers the same right to her husband and to her children, as far as it concerns the possession of their estates.

The order of the clergy is composed of the archbishop of Upsal, who is generally their speaker, the bishop of each diocese, a member from each chapter, and one who is like a dean, and who is elected out of every ten parishes by the majority of the votes of their brethren. Their expences during the diet are defrayed by a subscription of the clergy; their number is about 170: they and their children are entitled to an unmolested possession of noblemen's estates, if they can afford to purchase them.

The representatives of the burghers are chosen by the magistrates and common council of each corporation, of which Stockholm sends four, others two, and some one, and there are some

some small corporations where two join together to send one representative. Their speaker is generally one of the burgo-masters of Stockholm; they are maintained during the diet at the expence of their fellow-citizens. This order is about 150.

Every district sends a member from among the farmers who are in possession of the crown lands, for other tenants and farmers have no right at all to sit in the diet, they being regarded as the tenants of the noblemen. They are chosen themselves, and they chuse their speaker by a majority of votes: this order is about 180, and their expences are defrayed by their fellow-farmers. Their first meeting when they are at Stockholm is in a large room in the castle, called the hall of the kingdom, where the king being seated on a throne, and the senate seated at some distance, the president of the chancery makes them a compliment in the king's name, and then a secretary reads his majesty's proposals to them, in which they are acquainted with the state of affairs since their recess, and the present occasion of their advice and assistance; to which the marshal of the nobility first returns an answer and kisses the king's hand, and after him the speakers of the other orders respectively, beginning with the clergy and ending with the farmers.

After this ceremony is concluded the states resolve themselves into several committees, of which the secret committee is the principal, for there the journals of the senate and the accounts of the exchequer are revised, and foreign as well as the most secret affairs of the kingdom are examined; this committee consists of forty members, who are chosen out of the four orders of the states in pleno, as they term it: this plenum is called together
by

by order of the land marshal whenever any important affairs, such as war, peace, taxes, succession to the throne, &c. are to be determined upon; for all these important affairs must be determined by the states, in which case the four orders assemble in the great hall of the house of nobles, and after the proposals are heard they separate themselves into their respective halls, where they debate and form resolutions upon the subjects proposed, which upon their joining together in the same hall are delivered to the land marshal by their respective speakers. Every great resolution must at least have the sanction of three orders before it can be received as a law or as a resolution of the state: when two orders are for and two orders against the matter in agitation, it rests upon the same footing it was in before. The other committees are appointed according to other exigencies, some in public, others in private affairs; but every one of them are obliged to refer their resolutions to the secret committee, or to the plenum. The committees are composed of all sorts of members, so that a Swedish farmer is let into the mystery of the government of the state. I have been the more particular in stating these regulations of the states as they were settled in the year 1720, because the same remain in force to this day.

No sooner was the prince of Hesse elected king of Sweden, than a considerable party were formed in the kingdom against him, and in a great measure against the form of government then established. This party was composed of the friends of the late king, of the house of Holstein, and of those who promoted the French interest in Sweden, which will be hereafter more fully explained, and were called the hat-party, and those who supported the then government were called the cap-party; and notwithstanding the inhabitants of Sweden had then as much liberty

liberty as any subjects could possibly have, and the power of the crown was as much limited as it could possibly be if it was to have any power at all, these two parties were continually disputing the one with the other; but the great poverty to which the kingdom was reduced by the wars and extravagancies of Charles the Twelfth prevented them from carrying their animosities to any great height; but during the last reign, as the French party increased in the kingdom, and when the government of France thought the support of their friends in this kingdom was an object worthy of their attention, the hat-party increased to that degree, that they carried every resolution in the states and in the senate, so that the late king spent the greatest part of his reign very disagreeably, till, through the intrigues of the queen, he was likewise brought over to the French party; but nothing material happened in consequence of this till the year 1769; sometimes one party had a majority in the diet and in the senate, and sometimes the other; when the proceedings of the court of Russia in Poland gave great offence to Lewis the Fifteenth, and his prime minister, who resolved at all events to check the growing power of this formidable state, especially as she seemed to favour the commerce and interests of Great Britain, and under pretence of keeping up a balance between the northern powers to involve all those powers in a war; a great sum of money was therefore sent from France to the Ottoman Porte to corrupt the ministers of the divan, and to make them declare war against Russia, whose haughty empress was represented to be aiming at universal monarchy, and to enslave all the powers of the North; at the same time the Porte was made to believe that Sweden would soon attack Russia on the other side.

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The plan of the French minister succeeded very well at Constantinople, and the Turks immediately declared war against Russia; but when the court of France found that there would be some difficulty to bring the Swedes into a war against Russia, as the cap-party then prevailed in the senate, this court determined to use their utmost endeavours to make the king of Sweden as absolute as Charles the Twelfth was, or at least to give him as much power as was necessary to make war and peace, and to govern independently of the senate; for which purpose a great sum of money was sent to Stockholm to corrupt the electors, and to make them send those of the hat-party to be their representatives; when on a sudden the king, pretending that the kingdom was not in a proper state of defence, and that the senate had formed some resolutions contrary to law, called an extraordinary diet; he had by his secret emissaries prepared the greatest part of the electors with the remittances which were received from France. Surprized at the suddenness of this resolution the other party were at first in the greatest confusion: the king had a great majority in the new diet, and carried every resolution which his friends proposed; all the senate were changed, and all those of the cap-party who were in any places of trust in the kingdom were dismissed. The French minister directed every thing in the diet; and they were so sure of altering the form of government to their wishes, that orders were sent to the Swedish envoy at Constantinople to inform the ministers of the Porte, that Sweden would very soon declare war against Russia. But though the majority of the diet were ready to give their votes as they were ordered in trifling questions which concerned the little regulations of the kingdom, it was not so sure that they would be of the same sentiments when a total change in the government came to be proposed; and it

being high treason for any person to propose such an alteration to the diet, the most determined of the king's party were now at a loss how to proceed: however they began with proposing some trifling alterations which did not come under the severe act before mentioned; but by this time the other party were likewise prepared, and the different orders of the diet fully instructed in the intrigues of the court, which were found to be very disagreeable to the majority; so that the court of France had the mortification to see all their schemes frustrated, and 500,000 Louis d'ors spent to no purpose; the Turks were also no less mortified to be left alone in the war against the Russians.

The government of Sweden went on upon the same plan till the death of the late king, when an extraordinary diet was called to regulate the affairs of the government, and to fix the articles of the capitulation, and the form of the coronation oath for the present king.

The cap-party now prevailed in the diet; but by the intrigues of the court and cabals of the other party, things were carried to such a length before these points were settled, and before the present king could be crowned, that the electors of the three inferior orders, who were to defray the expences of their representatives, were highly disgusted at their conduct, and even the nobility themselves were much displeased that the diet continued so long.

On the other hand, his majesty was extremely chagrined to see the power of the crown limited by this capitulation even more than it was during his father's life-time: the king was now
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little more than the president of the senate, who ruled and governed every thing as they thought proper ; indeed they pushed their schemes too far, particularly their plan of œconomy, supposing that both the states and the nation, when they saw with what integrity they were endeavouring to pay off the heavy debt which the nation had made during the last war against the king of Prussia, would approve of their conduct and support them : but the court took advantage of their want of policy and indiscretion, and turned their best-intentioned acts to their ruin. After having by his emissaries spread several reports through the kingdom of the ill intentions of the senate and the states, which were then sitting, in order to prepare the people for what was to follow, the king with a party of his guards surprized the senate and kept them prisoners till he had prepared, or rather forced, the states to agree to a change in the government ; while his brothers, with whom he acted in concert, raised large bodies of forces in the remote parts of the kingdom, not only to prevent the people from declaring for the senate and the then established form of government, but also to act offensively as occasion required.

Scarcely had the king taken the most solemn oaths to rule according to the then established form of government, and accepted the crown upon these conditions, before he formed the plan to govern as he thought proper, regarding those oaths as mere pieces of ceremony ; luckily for him the opposite party had no active leaders, who were not immediately seized and imprisoned ; and he attempted this revolution at a time when the people were much displeased with the conduct of the senate who had brought the diet to such a length, otherwise he would cer-

tainly have shared the fate of some of the former kings of Sweden who made attempts of the like nature.

As it may not be disagreeable to my readers to see the articles of capitulation which the king signed and swore to observe on the 28th of March 1772, I shall proceed to give a brief account of them, to the end that they may be compared with the form of government which was established after this revolution.

In this act the king promised, in the first place, that he would always continue to profess the Lutheran religion, and to maintain his family and all the inhabitants of the kingdom therein. 2d. That he would not permit any person of another religion, and much less of this, who was known to be an impious person, an enemy to God, and incredulous, to be in his service, or to serve the crown. 3d. That all his principal officers, both civil and military, should be kept in a strict observance of this point of religion. 4th. His majesty obliged himself not to alienate any principality, province, fortrefs, castle, or any fief of the crown, nor to buy any nobleman's estate for himself, or for any of his family. 5th. The king promised before God to support the government of the kingdom as then established, to maintain the rights and liberties of the states, the liberties and security of all his subjects, and to reign with gentleness and equity according to the laws of the kingdom, the form of the regency as it was established in the year 1720, and conformable to the present act of capitulation. 6th. In consequence of the declaration of the states, the king shall regard any person who shall openly or clandestinely endeavour to introduce absolute sovereignty as an enemy of the kingdom, and as a traitor to his country, as every person

person must take an oath respecting this matter before he can take possession of any employment. 7th. With regard to the affairs of the cabinet and the senate, the king promises to follow the regulations of the year 1720 upon that head, which were to be directed always by a majority of votes, and never to do any thing therein without, and much less against, their advice. 8th. His majesty promises not to interfere directly or indirectly in the election of the representatives who are to serve in the diet, nor in the election of the land marshal, or any of the speakers; and that moreover he will not suffer any other person to interfere therein. 9th. His majesty promises that he will not interfere in the election of such great officers of the state as are elected in the diet, and that in disposing of those charges which are usually disposed of by his majesty before the senate, namely, those of field marshal to those of colonel inclusively, he will follow the regulation of the year 1720. 10th. The king will not remove any person from his employment before judgment is passed upon him according to law, neither will he remove any person from one post to another against his inclination. 11th. The king will not grant any particular privilege to any senator or other great officer of the state without the knowledge and consent of the four orders of the state, and this unanimously given. 12th. The revenues of the kingdom shall be employed according to the disposition of the council of state. 13th. The king promises not to naturalize any stranger of any state or condition whatever without the consent of the senate or of the council of state, nor to admit into the senate or into the court any person who is not born a Swede. 14th. The king promises not to go out of the kingdom without the consent of the council of state, except in such cases where it is necessary to provide for his proper defence, nor to suffer the princes to do the like, except some important
affairs.

affairs call them into foreign countries. 15th. The council of state shall sign all the expeditions when the king is sick or absent. 16th. His majesty obliges himself not to alter in any respect the sense of the orders of the states respecting the hereditary right to the crown. 17th. The king obliges himself not to undertake any war, nor to make any new laws, or to change any old ones, without the consent of the states; but when the frontiers of the kingdom are attacked, he will defend them and raise contributions with the consent of the senate until the council of state can be assembled. 18th. His majesty promises to preserve the different kinds of gold and silver money in their intrinsic value, to support the bank, and to continue its privileges. 19th. The king engages himself to support, according to the tenor of the laws, the clergy in general, and particularly what regards their dignity, authority, prerogatives, and privileges, and all the societies and communities which depend thereon. 20th. The king promises that all the donations given by the kings his ancestors, or by particulars, for the use of the young students, shall be administered and employed conformably to the intentions and orders of the donors. 21st. The king promises to protect all the cities of the kingdom according to the form of their respective regencies in every thing which regards their rights, prerogatives, and immunities, as well common as particular. 22d. The king promises to support the different manufactures actually established, and which may be hereafter established in the kingdom, and to cultivate them as much as possible; he likewise promises not only to encourage the mining societies of the kingdom in what regards their rights and privileges, but also to encourage, by virtue of an order of the states, the farmers to cultivate their lands and to improve their villages. 23d. To the end that the council of state may be so much the more

convinced of the inviolable designs of his majesty, and of his sincere love for the good of his people, he declares them to be entirely disengaged from their oath of fidelity, in case that he wilfully acts contrary to his coronation oath and to this capitulation, or to what the council of state shall hereafter judge necessary to prescribe respecting the form and the security of the regency, or for the support of the force of the kingdom, and to secure the exercise of their religion. 24th. and lastly, The king threatens any person with his highest displeasure who shall be so inconsiderate as to propose to him a greater degree of power and splendor than is marked out in this act of capitulation, as his majesty desires only to gain the affection of his faithful subjects, and to be their powerful defender against any attempts which may be made upon their lawful liberties.

C H A P. II.

*Of the FORM of GOVERNMENT at present established in
S W E D E N.*

AS soon as Gustavus and his party had imprisoned the senate and all the great officers of the crown who were in the interest of the other party, he proceeded, with the assistance of his partizans, to change the form of government then established, and which he and all his friends had solemnly sworn to observe; and immediately after, the states being then assembled or rather kept prisoners likewise, the following plan of government was laid before them, together with the king's declaration, that it was
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not his intention to assume an arbitrary power; and though many individuals in the states observed very judiciously, that there was no dependence to be placed upon the word of a man who had just before broken through the most solemn oaths, and was ready to sacrifice all the great officers of state to his ambition, as the states were not immediately in a situation to make a resistance, the same was accepted literally, and is the form of government at present established in Sweden.

“ Gustavus, by the grace of God, king of Sweden and of the Goths and Vandals, &c. maketh known, that as from the time of our coming to the throne our intention has always been to employ continually our royal power and authority to promote the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom, and the happiness and security of our faithful subjects; but we have found, as the actual state of the kingdom will demonstrate, that it was indispensably necessary to make some change in the fundamental laws of the kingdom before we could carry our good intentions into execution; and therefore, after the most mature reflections, and the most serious examination, we have drawn up a plan of administration for the government of the kingdom, which the states actually assembled have accepted and sworn to abide by; and in consequence thereof we do approve and confirm by these presents, in a literal sense, this form of government, accepted in this manner by the states, such as it is drawn up in their own words.

“ We whose names are hereunto subscribed, senators, states, counts, barons, bishops, knights, and nobles, clergy, military officers, citizens, and commons, who are actually here assembled, make known, for us and for our absent citizens, that having
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found by an unhappy experience, that many of our citizens, under the name of liberty, had assumed a power and domination which was insupportable; and so much the more so, as it was raised by a particular authority, fixed by a personal interest and severity, and at last strengthened, unhappily for the public, by a foreign force and power, that we were plunged in the greatest danger by the forced and tortured explication of the laws, which could not fail to draw upon the kingdom the most horrid desolations, as the history of ancient times, and the example of our neighbours, will clearly prove; if the courage of some of our zealous citizens, and a love for their country, seconded by the zeal and care of the most mighty prince and lord Gustavus the Third, king of Sweden, &c. our most gracious king and lord, had not drawn us out of the danger and delivered us. We have therefore studied to fix our liberty in such a manner, that it shall never more be shaken by any interested prince or minister, by ambitious and interested citizens and traitors, or by our proud enemies and calumniators; so that the ancient kingdom of Sweden, and of the Goths, may remain a free kingdom, subsisting by herself. For which reason we have approved and confirmed, and by these presents do notify and confirm this form of government, so that it shall be a fundamental and inviolable law, to which we do hereby submit ourselves and our descendants, born and to be born, promising to observe the same, and to follow it entirely according to its literal sense word for word, as it is hereafter written; and to regard as our enemies, and the enemies of the kingdom, those who would seduce us to depart from it.

“ 1st. Union in religion, and in the true service of God, is the most solid foundation of true and laudable government,

and therefore in future, as well as in times past, the king, as well as all the officers and subjects in the kingdom, will remain stedfastly attached to the pure and clear word of God, as it is written by the Prophets and Apostles, and explained in the Christian symbols in the Catechism of Luther, and in the confession of Ausbourg, as it was ordained in the synod of Upsal, and often in the decrees and declarations of the States; so that the ecclesiastical rights are hereby confirmed, without however giving any cause for an encroachment upon the rights and privileges of the crown or of the inhabitants of Sweden. 2d. It is the duty of the king to govern his kingdom according to the tenor of the Swedish laws; it is to him, and to no other person, that the right belongs of supporting the truth and of making it be beloved; and on the contrary, to forbid, abolish, and destroy injustice and iniquity: he is not to injure any person in what respects his life, his honour, his body, or his property, before he has been judged and convicted by the laws, nor to deprive any person of his real or personal property without a judgment at law; but he is to govern the kingdom according to the royal laws, the constitution of the country, and the present form of government. 3d. For what regards the order of succession to the crown, the hereditary convention, as it was projected and accepted at Stockholm in 1745, which is conformable to that of Westeras of 1544, and to the conclusion taken at Norkiöping in 1604, is to be entirely received. 4th. In future, as it has been in times past, after the princes of the blood, the senate or the king's council shall be regarded as the first in rank and dignity in the kingdom; the king shall chuse them from among the nobility and gentry who are natives of the country, and who are bound to the king and to the kingdom by their homage, their fidelity, and their services. As the number of senators
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is not determined, and is regulated according to the wants or to the dignity of the state, the number in future shall be seventeen, comprehending the great officers of the crown and the governor of Pomerania: it shall be their duty to give their advice in all the affairs of the state whenever the king shall demand it, to contribute with all their power to the good of the public, to give counsel to the king according to the best of their judgment in every thing which tends to promote his own good as well as the good and welfare of the state, to exhort the states and the commons to fidelity and good will towards the government, to watch over the good, dignity, independence, utility, and prosperity of the king and of the kingdom; and as the conclusion of the diet in 1562 expresses it, to counsel, as their employment demands, but not to govern: but, on the other hand, the senators are obliged and bound to the king only, and they are not answerable but for their counsels; the king cannot reproach them with any thing, nor impute to them the bad success which may happen when the event falls differently to their decision, their conjectures, their thoughts, and their sentiments founded upon proofs, and especially when their good counsels fail of success through the fault of those who are employed to carry them into execution. 5th. It is the duty of the king to hold the reins of government, to protect the inhabitants of the kingdom, and to support their rights as well as those of the crown, as the laws and the present form of administration direct. 6th. As the negotiations of peace and of truces, and of alliances offensive and defensive, will rarely suffer any delay, and necessarily demand the greatest secrecy, the king shall regulate these affairs with the senate; and after having received and weighed the advice of the senators he shall employ such means and measures as he shall judge himself to be the best and the most for the

interest of the kingdom ; however in these important cases, if the advice of the senators is contrary to that of the king, and they are unanimous therein, the king shall follow their advice ; but if they are divided in their sentiments the king, after having well examined them, shall chuse that which appears to him to be the best and the most for the interest of the kingdom. 7th. If the king is a stranger he shall not go out of the kingdom without the consent of the diet ; but if he is a native of Sweden, he shall only communicate his design to the senate, and take their opinion upon it, as in the foregoing article. 8th. To the end that all the public affairs may be expedited with the greatest dispatch and order, they shall be divided among the senators in such a manner as the king shall judge to be the most convenient : his majesty, as the supreme governor of the kingdom, is not answerable for his conduct but to God and his country ; and in every thing in which he shall demand the advice of the senators he shall have the decisive voice, except in the affairs of justice, which shall be decided by the tribunal of the court, the tribunal of war, and by all the tribunals established in the kingdom ; and the definitive decision appertains to the revision of justice, composed of seven senators, known for their abilities in the laws of the kingdom, under the presidency of the king, who, as in times past, shall have two voices ; and when the voices are equal on one side and on the other, he shall have the decisive voice. 9th. It is the king only who has the right to pardon offences, and to restore any person to his honour and to his property in criminal cases, which are not directly contrary to the clear word of God. 10th. All the principal military employments, from the field-marshal to the lieutenant-colonel inclusively, and those of the same rank in the ecclesiastical and civil state, shall be distributed in the king's council in the following

following manner; when there shall be any vacancy, the senators shall inform themselves of the abilities and merit of those who shall offer themselves as candidates for these important employments, and who may enter into consideration to obtain them, and make a report of them to the king; and when the king has declared before the senate the nomination which he has made of the person who has his approbation for his advancement, the senators may make what remarks they think proper upon the Protocoll, but they shall not proceed to vote. With regard to all the other employments, the colleges and the chiefs shall propose three of the most able and the most worthy subjects that they can find to fill the vacant place, to which they may join one or two persons who have offered themselves as candidates for the employment, and the king shall chuse one. Officers in the regiments shall advance according to the order of Charles the Twelfth of the 16th of November 1716; but if it shall happen, that in the proposal any person has been wronged or passed by without any reason, the chiefs shall answer for it. All the little employments which the colleges, the consistories, the colonels of regiments, or other persons had been accustomed to give before the year 1680, shall in future continue to be distributed by them. No foreigner of what rank soever can obtain any employments either civil or military, otherwise than the employments of the court, except that by their great and shining qualities they may procure some considerable lustre or advantage to the kingdom. Abilities and experience shall always conduct to employments, without any regard to favour or extraction, when they are not accompanied with abilities. With regard to the election of archbishops, bishops, and superintendants of churches the ancient custom shall be followed, namely, that the king shall name one of the three subjects whom
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the chiefs shall propose to him. For the nomination of the inferior clergy the regulation which was made in the year 1720 shall be followed. 11th. It only appertains to the king to ennoble those who by their fidelity, valour, science, and experience have well merited it of the king and of the kingdom: but as the nobility of Sweden are at present very numerous, his majesty will be pleased to limit the number to 150; which 150 new families the orders of knighthood and the order of the nobility cannot refuse to accept into their respective bodies, either as knights or as counts and barons, especially if they have rendered themselves worthy of the royal favour by their great and singular services. 12th. All the affairs which are not named here the king shall cause to be proposed in his cabinet, or, if he shall judge it proper, in one of the particular divisions or commissions of the council; or the king may, if he pleases, call a greater number of the senators together: however the whole shall be regarded as if it was done in the cabinet. 13th. As the kingdom is of too great an extent, and the public affairs too great and too important for the king to expedite the whole, it will be necessary that his majesty should have the assistance of bailiffs and provincial governors. 14th. There are certain colleges established for the prompt dispatch and execution of all the public affairs which are carried into execution in the kingdom; the directors of those colleges have the right and power, by virtue of their charges and by the powers with which they are invested, to establish all their inferior officers in their respective employments, to command them to keep within the limits of their duty and obedience, to demand an account of what has been committed to their charge, and to give an account thereof to the king when there is a necessity for it, and as well to give his majesty an account of what they have done themselves. 15th.

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In the tribunal of the court, the king shall name a president, who by his science and his experience in the administration of justice, has made him capable of exercising this employment; and he shall have for assessors a vice-president and the ordinary counsellors and assessors of the tribunal. These high tribunals are to take cognizance in their respective districts of the administration of justice according to the statute and common laws of the kingdom, which are to be observed and followed by the judges in the literal sense; so that these sovereign tribunals shall render justice to every one impartially and without delay, without interest, or without any other views, in such a manner as they shall answer for the same before God and the king, and that injustice may not be spread throughout the kingdom. In all such cases as concern the life or honour of the knights or of the nobility, sentence cannot be given by any other tribunal, as their privileges and the form of proceedings of the year 1615 has ordered and regulated it, but in such a manner nevertheless that the judicial inquisition shall be made upon the place where the crime was committed; and it is moreover to be understood, that these privileges do not influence any cases which do not concern the life or honour of such knights or nobility. These sovereign tribunals shall also keep a strict watch over the judges of the inferior courts in the towns as well as in the country, when they shall have failed in their duty through ignorance, negligence, or by corruption, and make them incessantly give an account of their conduct, and punish them in proportion to the urgency of the case: but if there is any judge who through hatred, ill-will, or vengeance shall deliberately pervert justice and equity, even in defiance to the dictates of his conscience, and thereby injure his neighbour in what regards his life, his honour, or his property, such a judge ought

ought not to be punished for his wickedness by a fine or by being divested of his place, but by the loss of his life and of his honour, according to the exigency of the case and the laws of Sweden: such crimes shall not be hidden, dissembled, nor overlooked through a misplaced pity, to the end that others may not be led to imitate them, by seeing that such faults and wicked dealing do not draw any just punishment after them: on the other hand, those who through ill-will, imprudence, or vengeance shall attack the judges or their subaltern officers in the exercise of their employment, either by words or by injurious, offensive, or dishonourable writings, without giving proof of their accusations, shall be immediately punished with the utmost severity, according to the exigency of the case, to the end that such wicked and malicious people may be deterred and take example. No person of what rank or quality soever should be kept long in arrest without being examined and judged: and to the end that the smallness of his salary may not furnish any judge with a pretext to prevaricate, and to cover abuses in the exercise of his employment, all the contributions which have been granted by the states for their support shall be exactly paid and preserved for paying the appointment of the judges. The king's bailiffs and fiscals are forbidden to exercise their employments with a premeditated negligence, or with the views of interest; and if they shall offend against this article, they shall be answerable for all the ill consequences which may attend it; and for this reason the chancellor of justice shall have a vigilant eye that the laws of the kingdom are duly exercised, and if he perceives that this is not the case, to make a report thereof immediately to the king. There shall be in future, as in times past, three of those sovereign courts of justice in the kingdom: the first at Stockholm, under the jurisdiction of which is all the kingdom
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of Sweden, in the sense in which the ancient laws understood this word; the second at Inkiöping, under the jurisdiction of which is the kingdom of Gothia; the third at Abo, under the jurisdiction of which was the great principality of Finland. 16th. All extraordinary tribunals, commissions, and deputations having a right to judge, whether they be established by the king or by the states, shall be abolished in future, as they have always tended to favour despotism or tyranny. Every Swede shall enjoy the right of being judged by the tribunal which generally takes cognizance of all affairs of that nature: however, if it shall so happen that a person of very high birth, a senator, or a whole college, shall be guilty of an offence against the king, the kingdom, or against the majesty of the crown, and that such crime cannot be judged either by the sovereign tribunal or by the council, then a tribunal of the kingdom shall be established, where the king shall preside himself, or the prince royal, or the first prince of the blood, or the most ancient senator shall preside in his place: the assessors shall be all the senators, the field marshal, all the presidents of the kingdom and of the royal colleges, four of the most ancient judges of the three sovereign courts, a general, the two most ancient lieutenant-generals, the two most ancient major-generals, the most ancient admiral, the chancellor of the court, and the three secretaries of state. The chancellor of justice is always to be the prosecutor, and the most ancient secretary of revision is to keep the Protocoll, or record. This court is to pronounce final judgment, which no person has a right to change, and much less to aggravate the punishment; without any prejudice however to the right that the king always has to pardon. 17th. After the sovereign tribunal follows the college of war, where there shall be, as in times past, a president, the general of artillery, the quarter-master general, and the ordinary counsellors

of war, every one of whom shall be chosen from among those persons who are the most skilled in the affairs of war. This college shall have the inspection over the land army, the artillery, the fortresses, the fortifications, the cannon, the founderies, the arms, and other instruments of war, the state of the frontier towns and castles, the entrenchments, the militia, the enrolments, reviews, &c. and shall follow the instructions, orders, and royal letters which have been and which shall hereafter be expedited. 18th. All the military forces by land and by sea shall take an oath of obedience according to the common prescribed form to the king, to the kingdom, and to the states. The regiments of horse and of foot, as well as the marine forces, shall remain in their respective divisions; and the contracts which have been made with the towns, and with the cities, and with the commons upon this head shall be strictly observed till the king and the states, acting in concert, shall find it necessary to make any alteration. 19th. No colonel nor any other military commander, under pretence of reviews or of any marches, shall recall those soldiers who have obtained leave to be with their families without a special order of the king, except for the ordinary reviews of the regiment, or except the kingdom is suddenly invaded by an enemy; and in such case the commanding officer before mentioned is to give notice immediately to the king, to whom alone belongs the chief command of all the military forces by land and sea, as has been always the case in the most illustrious and happy periods of the monarchy. 20th. The third college of the kingdom is the admiralty, where there shall be a president, who shall have for assessors all the admirals and chief officers of the marine; and for the better conducting of the marine affairs, when they shall be deliberated upon in the king's presence there shall at least be one senator who has served

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at sea, and who is experienced in maritime affairs. This college shall have the inspection and care of the naval forces of the kingdom, with every thing that appertains to them, of the construction and equipment of ships of war, of the cloathing the seamen, of furnishing provisions, and of enrolling seamen and pilots; and in every thing they are to follow the instructions, orders, and royal letters which are or which may be issued out for this purpose. 21st. The fourth college of the kingdom is the chancery, where a senator shall always preside; he shall have for assessors one or more senators, a chancellor of the court, the secretaries of state, and the ordinary counsellors of the chancery. In this college shall be prepared all the acts and orders which concern the kingdom in general, or which concern the privileges of towns or of particular persons; in this college shall likewise be prepared all the affairs respecting the diets, the assemblies, the alliances with foreign powers, the treaties of peace with enemies, the instructions of ambassadors, the records of the councils which the king generally holds, and, in fact, every thing which is expedited under the hand and seal of his majesty. This college shall likewise watch over all the posts in the kingdom, to the end that they may be well regulated under the inspection of him who has the chief direction. The secretaries of state shall take care that all expeditions should be promptly and well done and expedited in good order according to the decision of his majesty; and the record, without adding or diminishing any thing with any view whatever: but if any person shall have the audacity to expedite any of these acts or orders contrary to the decision of his majesty, after having been examined and judgment passed upon him, he shall be dismissed from his employment and punished according to the exigency of the case. No order shall

be obeyed or followed which is not duly countersigned, except in affairs of war: and lastly, this college shall always conform itself to the orders and instructions which it has received or which it may receive. 22d. His majesty shall name in full senate, but none of the senators shall vote, the president of the chancery, the counsellors of the chancery, who are senators, the chancellors of the court and of justice, the secretaries of state, the secretaries of the chancery, and the secretaries of expedition; and he will be pleased to chuse those who have his confidence: in the same manner likewise his majesty shall chuse and name all his ministers who reside at foreign courts. 23d. The fifth college of the kingdom is the college of the chamber, which has a president and the ordinary counsellors of the chamber. All who have any thing to do with the revenues or expences of the king and of the crown shall receive their orders from and make their reports to this college, which shall likewise act according to the instructions, orders, and royal letters which already are or which may be expedited in future. The functions and employments of this college are to take care that the revenues of the crown are properly raised, and augmented when there is an occasion for it; to see that the royal rights are not annulled or lost and dissipated, that the contributions are furnished and paid in a proper time, and that the public credit is not lessened; to the end that his majesty in case of necessity, whether within or without the kingdom, may not wait for a support and succours. All the revenues arising from the customs and the excise, with all their accounts, must come, after having passed the inspection of their respective directors, before this college. 24th. In the college of state there is a president and the common commissaries of state, to whom appertains the administration and the division of the property of the crown: all who have

have any property of the crown in their hands shall appear before this college in proper time, as they are plainly ordered by their instructions. The state of this property shall be made out every year according to the regulation of the year 1696; and this state be ordered pursuant to the laws of the kingdom, so that all the officers of the state may enjoy their appointments of the revenues of the crown. No extraordinary draughts shall be made upon this branch of the crown revenues, except the indispensable service of the king or of the kingdom should demand it. They shall lay upon this branch of the crown revenue not only a certain sum, which is generally called the particular expences of his majesty, but also an yearly sum for the extraordinary expences, which shall be ordered, signed, and countersigned according to the direction of his majesty; the whole conformably to the instructions, orders, or royal letters already expedited, or which may be expedited in future. 25th. The king shall cause and name in full senate, but none of the senators shall vote, the president and the commissaries of state from among those who by their fidelity and experience in those matters have made themselves worthy of his majesty's confidence. 26th. The college of mines shall have equally a president and the ordinary counsellors and assessors of mines, who have made themselves capable of being judges of those matters, not only by their science but by their experience, and who have acquired all the fundamental knowledge which is necessary for conducting mines. This college has the inspection and care of the mines and of every thing belonging to them. 27th. The college of commerce shall likewise have a president and the ordinary counsellors of commerce, together with assessors and commissaries who are well instructed in commercial matters. It is the duty of this college to take care of the augmentation, extension,

extension, and improvement of commerce, to support the manufactures, and to see that the manufacturers are decently lodged and maintained: this college shall likewise take care that the licences, excises, orders of the custom-house, and other articles are administered according as the royal letters, orders, or instructions have already prescribed or may hereafter prescribe. 28th. The college of revision shall likewise have a president, who with the ordinary assessors shall take care that not only the law-suits which are before that court shall be expedited by such judgments and resolutions as are conformably to the laws, and that they be executed by the fiscals, but also that the annual accounts of the crown, as soon as they have been given out of the college of the chamber, and that the college of revision of the chamber has had advice of it, shall without delay be examined, revised, and corrected; the whole according to the orders, royal letters, and instructions already issued or which may hereafter be issued out for that purpose. 29th. The great marshal of the kingdom is one of the senators who has the inspection of the court, the castle, and the household of the king, as well as of his table, and of every thing which appertains to it, which he shall order and arrange according to the best of his judgment. 30th. The court of his majesty is under his particular disposition; his majesty having only the right to change it or to make some alterations therein when he shall find it necessary. 31st. The governor of Stockholm, the captain-lieutenant, the lieutenants, and quarter-masters of the train-bands, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the body-guards, the colonel of the regiment of guards, the colonel of the dragoon-guards, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, the aides-de-camp-general, and the commanders of the frontier towns, are places of trust and confidence that his majesty shall give and take away in full

full senate, but none of the senators are to vote. 32d. All the colleges shall assist in any thing which concerns the utility and advantage of the king and of the kingdom, when their assistance is necessary and when they are desired, but neither of them has a right to domineer over the others, nor to obstruct or retard their operations; and every one of them shall do their duty with that care, diligence, fidelity, and prudence which are requisite. So long as the presidents reside in the colleges they shall enjoy their ordinary power and authority; but if it shall happen that they are absent for the affairs of the king, or on their own private affairs, they shall preserve indeed their honorary titles and the advantages which depend on them, but they cannot order, prescribe, or command any thing that regards the post of president till they return again to their respective colleges, and have again entered upon the exercise of their respective employments: during this interval the eldest assessor shall execute with the same authority and power the affairs which are attached to this employ. All the colleges are obliged to give an account to the king of the affairs which pass through their hands whenever his majesty shall demand it, and they are not obliged to answer to any other person respecting the affairs with which they are charged. 33d. The regency of the country consists entirely in the ordinary proprietors of fiefs, called Hoefdingthuamern, according to the present establishment; but in future there shall not be any governor-general in the kingdom, except in particular cases, and for a certain time; and no personal fief can be given on any occasion whatever; but the fiefs must be distributed in the order they are at present, according to the form of government of the year 1720. 34th. The hereditary princes of the kingdom of Sweden, and the princes of the royal blood of this kingdom, cannot have any personal fiefs or general government; but they must

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content themselves with the support in money which is granted them by the states; which, for the hereditary princes, shall not be less than 100,000 dollars silver mint, i.e. about 6000 pounds yearly, from the day that they are declared of age, which is when they shall have entered into their twenty-first year: the other princes, who are farther off from the crown, shall have an annual sum of money for their support, which is sufficient and convenient for persons of their rank; and moreover they may be invested with the titles of duke or prince, as has been the case in ancient times, without having however any claim upon the provinces of which they bear the titles, which shall always be united under one chief and regent, without any diminution or separation. 35th. With regard to what concerns the support of the prince royal, who is always the son or grandson of the king who is upon the throne, in line direct and descendent, it shall be entirely in the same manner, and upon the same plan as that of the son of the king Adolphus Frederick of glorious memory, our gracious king Gustavus the Third actually reigning, has been regulated and confirmed; and he shall take his place in the council of his majesty when he shall arrive at the age of eighteen years. 36th. No prince of the royal blood of Sweden, whether he is prince royal, hereditary prince, or other prince, can legally contract himself in marriage without the knowledge and consent of the king: if he breaks through this law, he shall be treated according to the laws of Sweden, and his children shall be deprived of all their right of inheritance. 37th. When the king is sick, or upon a long journey, the regency shall be administered by the senators, whom the king shall nominate for that purpose; but if the king falls suddenly ill, and cannot give any orders respecting the administration of government, all the orders of the cabinet, or of the chancery, shall be signed by

four of the most ancient senators, and by the president of the chancery; and these five persons shall exercise the royal power in every thing which requires a prompt dispatch: however they shall have no power to give any employ, or to conclude any alliances till the health of the king is re-established in such a degree as he may occupy himself the affairs of the state; and moreover they shall be obliged to give an account to his majesty of the manner in which they have administered the public affairs. But if the king is dead, and the hereditary prince is still a minor, the public affairs shall be administered as before-mentioned, and all the public employments shall be given in the interim, the same as if the king had been living, if the last king has not made a testamentary disposition; if this is the case, the testament of the king must be followed. 38th. The states of the kingdom shall assemble, at the time and place which shall be assigned them, whenever the king shall convoke them, to deliberate with his majesty upon the affairs for which they were convoked; but no other person, upon any pretence whatever, shall have the power to convoke the states in a general diet, except in the minority of the king, when his guardians shall exercise this right. But if the throne shall become vacant by the extinction of all the royal family (from which unhappy state God preserve us) the states of the kingdom shall be obliged, without being convoked, to assemble together at Stockholm the thirteenth day after the death of the late king, as the act of re-union of the 23d June 1743 directs; with the publication of the punishment which shall be inflicted upon any person who, in this case, shall have the audacity to endeavour by factions, or by any other acts of violence, to interrupt the free election of the states. In this disagreeable situation, it is the duty of the principal nobility, of the chapter of the cathedral of Upsal, and of

the magistrates of Stockholm, to publish the news of his death through all the orders of the states: and all the proprietors of fiefs are likewise then obliged, every one in his fief, to inform all the inhabitants of his death; and also to take care that the public peace is preserved, and to assemble at the place proposed, and at the time fixed, in order to protect and defend the liberty of the kingdom, to the end that the states may elect a new royal house. 39th. The states shall preserve all the royal rights with the greatest care and fidelity, such as they are described by the laws of Sweden; and guard them in their full force and authority, and defend and strengthen, with zeal and attention, every thing which belongs to the royal authority: and in this respect they shall not change, augment, or diminish any of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, without the advice and consent of the king, to the end that the true laws and liberties of the subjects be not violated; and that the rights of the king may not be neglected and oppressed, but that every one may enjoy their legal rights and privileges justly acquired. All the other acts and statutes which have been enacted since the year 1680 to this time, respecting the fundamental laws of the kingdom, are by this article abolished and rejected. 40th. The king cannot establish any new law nor abolish any old one without the knowledge and consent of the states. 41st. The states cannot abolish any ancient law nor establish any new one without the knowledge and consent of the king. 42d. When any new law is in agitation, if it is the diet which desires it, the states shall deliberate among themselves; and when they have agreed upon it, their project shall be communicated to the king by four speakers, to have his majesty's opinion of it: then his majesty should demand counsel of the state, and hear their opinion; and when he has weighed it, and formed his resolution
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upon it, he shall order the states to be called into the assembly hall, and there by a short discourse communicate his consent to them, or the reasons for why he cannot consent to it. But when the king would propose a new law, he shall communicate it immediately to the senators; and when they have given their sentiments in writing, the whole record shall be sent to the states, who, after having deliberated upon it, and being agreed among themselves, shall demand a day to communicate their consent to his majesty in the great hall of the assembly; but if they have a negative representation to make, this shall be made in writing, and sent to the king by four speakers, together with the reasons which induced them to make such a representation. 43d. If it shall happen that any question of law shall be stated, as the example of past times have sufficiently shewn, it shall be resolved in the same manner as is described in the forty-second article. 44th. The right of coining money is an ancient right of the crown, and shall always be one of the king's principal privileges; nevertheless the states reserve to themselves, when any change is to be made in the value or in the alloy of the current money of the kingdom, that no such change shall be made without their knowledge and approbation. 45th. It is the king who is to procure peace and security to the kingdom, especially against foreign powers and enemies; but he cannot against the laws, and against his oath and royal assurance, impose any subsidies, new military taxes, contributions, or other impositions upon the subjects, without the free will and consent of the states; except the kingdom shall be attacked suddenly by foreign armies, then it is the king who has the right to take such measures and means as he shall judge best for the security of the kingdom and the good of the subjects: but as soon as the war is finished he shall convoke the states, and the new taxes which

have been laid on the people, on account of the war, shall immediately cease. 46th. The assemblies of the diet shall not continue longer than three months at most, to the end that the electors of the different orders of the states be not exhausted by paying the expences of their representatives in long diets, as it has often arrived in times past; the king may dissolve the diet about this time, and order all the members of the states to return to their own homes. If there are no new laws or regulations made during this term, every thing shall remain as it was before. 47th. It is to the states that the right and power appertains of nominating those who are to compose the secret committee, with whom his majesty would debate upon such affairs as he shall think proper to be kept secret. Those persons have incontestably all the rights which are possessed by the states themselves; but in all such cases where their deliberations may be known, they shall be communicated to a full diet, and remitted to their deliberations. 48th. The king cannot make war or peace without the knowledge and consent of the states. 49th. The states officers cannot leave with his majesty, neither can his majesty demand of them, any other records but those which concern the affairs which his majesty has examined and canvassed with the states. 50th. The state of all the public works, and of all the public disbursements, shall be shewn to the committee of the states, to the end that they may see whether the public money has been employed for the good and utility of the kingdom. 51st. If any member of the diet is attacked or ill-treated without a cause, either by words or by actions, during the diet, or when he is coming to or returning from the diet, even after he has publicly declared that he was in such or such committees, or concerned in any particular affairs, such an outrage shall be punished as a crime, and a violence against
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the peace of the kingdom. 52d. His majesty shall maintain all the orders of the states in their privileges, preferences, rights, and liberties, which are legally acquired: no new privileges shall be granted to any one of the orders without the consent and concurrence of all the others. 53d. It is his majesty alone who is charged with the care that that part of the dukedom of Pomerania, which is annexed to the crown of Sweden, shall be governed according to the laws of the German empire, their privileges legally acquired, and the peace of Westphalia. 54th. All the cities of the kingdom shall preserve their rights and privileges, legally acquired, which they have received from the ancient kings of Sweden; but in such a manner nevertheless, that they do accommodate themselves to the circumstances of the times, and to the general good and advantage of the kingdom. 55th. The bank of the states shall remain in future, as it has been heretofore, under their care and protection; and it shall be governed according to the regulations and statutes which are already made, or which may be made in future by the states. 56th. With regard to the cash of the pensions of the army, it shall remain under the same regulations that it has hitherto been, or at least shall be regulated by such measures as in consequence of these shall be adopted by the king and the general officers, and also the officers of the regulated troops. 57th. If any thing obscure shall be found in this fundamental law, it shall be taken in the strictly literal sense, till his majesty and the diet are agreed upon this matter, as it is prescribed in the thirty-ninth and forty-second articles."

We the states of the kingdom, assembled here in diet, having found that all the above written laws were necessary in order to govern the kingdom with propriety, to confirm our liberties and

our security for us, our fellow-citizens, and our descendents, born and to be born; we do again declare, that we have the greatest horror of arbitrary power, or what is commonly called sovereignty. We regard it as our greatest happiness, honour, and advantage, in quality of free and independent states, making the laws, and at the same time subject to the laws, to be and to live under the government of a king invested with authority, and nevertheless bound by the laws; and to be united with his majesty under the protection of the laws; to the end that both we and our country may be delivered from the dangers and the disorder that arbitrary power, aristocracy, and the power of many draw in their train, to the great loss of the public, and to the disagreement and affliction of every citizen. At present we promise ourselves a well regulated and happy government, bound by the laws, and so much the more as his majesty has already declared, that he shall esteem it as his greatest honour to be the first citizen of a free people; and we hope that such a disposition will be transmitted in his royal house, through all his descendents, even to the last ages of the world. And moreover we declare by these presents, as to our enemies and for the enemies of the kingdom, any ignorant or ill-intentioned citizen or citizens, who in secret or in public, by stratagem, artifice, or open violence would alienate us from this law to impose an arbitrary authority upon us; or, under pretence of liberty, shall endeavour to overturn this law, notwithstanding it tends to confirm a just and proper liberty, to oppose the arbitrary power and disorder, and to administer impartial judgment to all our fellow citizens, according to the written laws of Sweden. We are also disposed, according to our duty and oath of fidelity, and according to this form of government, to render a strict obedience to his majesty, to obey his

his orders in every thing as we shall answer before God and men; namely, for the king to command, and for us to carry his commands into execution, and to support justice, as it appertains to the king, and to us his faithful subjects; and for the greater security we have confirmed, and do confirm this by our signs and seals in Stockholm the 21st of August 1772.

G. LEYONHUFUUD, p. t. marshal of the diet (L. S.)

A. H. FÖRSSENIUS, speaker.

J. G. HOCKSCHILD, in the place of the speaker.

Jos. HANSSON, speaker.

We do not only accept for ourselves all the above written as a fundamental and irrevocable law; but we do also enjoin and order at the same time, that all who are bound and obliged by faith, homage, and obedience to us, our successors, and to the kingdom, shall acknowledge and observe this form of government, and follow and conform to it; and for the greater security we have signed and sealed this act with our proper name and seal at Stockholm this 21st day of August 1772.

(L. S.) G U S T A V U S.

This act was soon after published, and is now received universally, and is the only fundamental law in the kingdom: the civil laws of Sweden were anciently as various as the provinces were numerous, each of which had statutes and customs peculiar to itself, enacted as occasion required by the governor of the province, who was chosen by the states, and invested with great authority, especially while the kingdom was elective, his suffrage concluding the province he governed. This variety was necessarily

rily attended with great confusion; and to remedy it, about 160 years since a code of laws was compiled for the direction of the whole kingdom; but this was a very imperfect collection, and the laws so few, and conceived in such general terms, that in most cases they were obliged to have recourse to the Roman civil laws; and, after all, the final determination depended much upon the inclination of the judges, who, in a poor country where the salaries were very small, were often persons of very weak parts, and subject to corruption upon very small temptations: the effects of which would have been much more visible, as hath been above observed, if the sovereign courts did not keep a check upon the lower ones, and the court of revision overawe them all; to which all civil cases for the sum of about seventy pounds are appealable, and very seldom ended heretofore before they were brought thither.

There are three courts of justice inferior to the sovereign courts; of the lowest degree, or first instance, there is one in every corporation besides Stockholm, in which there are three; as also in every district or territory, of which every province contains several; in the cities an alderman or counsellor presides, and has some of his brethren for assistants; in the country the governor of the territory, with a standing jury, decides all civil matters; his court is ambulatory, and usually kept near or upon the place where the fact or trespass was committed. In these courts examinations are taken, and matters not exceeding two pounds are determined; whatever exceeds this sum is transmitted to the next superior court, of which in every corporation there is one, wherein the burgomaster is president, and the aldermen his assistants; and so in every province there is one or more of these courts, the president of which retains the name
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of governor, but without any other authority than that of judge; from these all causes respecting bloodshed must be transmitted to the sovereign or national courts, where they are determined without further appeal; and thither also all civil actions, not exceeding the sum of twenty pounds, may be brought by appeal: all these sovereign courts must sit continually, or at least must have very short vacations. Actions relating to sea affairs are judged in the ordinary courts, according to their code of sea laws, which was established in the time of Charles the Eleventh, and founded upon the ancient laws of Wisby in Gothland, so famous formerly in the Baltic sea, which code remains in Sweden to this day.

The court of admiralty has not any particular jurisdiction in the administration of these laws, except only in such matters as directly concern the king's fleet, and in some places that belong immediately to the admiralty.

For ecclesiastical cases there is a consistory in each diocese, of which the bishop is president, where cases of bastardy, contracts of marriage, and other matters of this nature are tried, and church censures of penance, divorce, &c. inflicted: the same code of ecclesiastical laws is followed at present that was established in the time of Charles the Eleventh; by those laws or canons it is ordained, that "if any Swedish subject change his
" religion, he shall be banished the kingdom, and lose all right
" of inheritance both for himself and for his descendants.

" If any person shall continue excommunicated above a year
" he shall be imprisoned a month, with bread and water, and
" then shall be banished.

“ If any person shall bring into the country teachers of another religion, he shall be fined and banished.

“ Foreign ministers shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion only for themselves and families.

“ Strangers of a different religion shall have no public exercise of it, and their children shall be baptized by Lutheran ministers, and educated in that religion, otherwise they shall not have the privileges of Swedish subjects.”

These, as well as other laws of the ecclesiastical code, not only oblige the clergy to a constant attendance on all the parts of their duty, but they likewise require the laity to frequent the church on all occasions; and the civil magistrates are ordered to make a very strict search, especially on days of great solemnity, and punish such as are found absent from the church without a just cause, with imprisonment and other severities: but the clergy are not intrusted with the sole administration of these laws, nor impowered by them to transact matters of any great moment without the concurrence of the civil power; for besides that many cases, which were formerly cognisable in the ecclesiastical courts, are now transferred to the jurisdiction of the civil magistrates, many cases of particular moment, as excommunication, banishment, &c. are reserved to be tried only in the sovereign courts; and the clergy are not permitted to pronounce sentence against any one, in matters of this moment, till the case has been heard in the sovereign court: the ecclesiastical courts have not even power to administer an oath, nor to inflict any corporal punishment, before the matter has been heard before the superior courts.

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For all matters relating to the mines there are also inferior courts, under the direction of officers settled in the different parts of the country; but there is an appeal from them to the general court, called The College of Mines, at Stockholm. The power of executing all judicial sentences is lodged in the governors of the provinces, the stadtholder of Stockholm, and of other places, and from them derived to inferior officers, who are accountable for their conduct to the sovereign courts, where they may be called and punished upon any plain proof of default: but the proof being often very difficult, and the ministers of justice very apt to favour each other, they take great liberty to delay execution, or to arbitrate the matter, and put their own sense upon sentences; so that this part of justice is the worst administered of all others, and has an influence not only at home, but lessens the credit of the Swedish subjects in foreign parts, against whom justice cannot be obtained without great difficulty. The ordinary charges of law-suits are very moderate in Sweden, but the lawyers too apt to take bribes: every man is permitted, and in criminal actions compelled to plead his own case; accordingly the practice of the law is below a gentleman, and rather the refusal than the choice of meaner persons. The custom of a jury of twelve men is so very ancient in Sweden, that their historians pretend it had its origin among them, and was from them conveyed to other nations; but at present it is disused every where, except in the lower courts in the country, and there the jury-men are for life, and have salaries; they have this peculiar to themselves, that among them there must be a unanimous concurrence to determine a case, which in the other courts of the kingdom is effected by a majority of voices.

Titles to estates are rendered more secure, and less subject to contests, by the registers that are kept of all sales and alienations, as well as of all other engagements relating to them; so that if the purchaser omits to record his transaction in the proper court, he incurs the hazard of an after-bargain taking place of his.

In criminal matters, where the fact is not very evident, or where the judges are not very severe, the defendant is admitted to clear himself by oath, to which is oftentimes added the oath of six or twelve other persons, who are all vouchers for his integrity. Treason, murder, double adultery, burning of houses, and other crimes of the like nature, are punished with death; which is executed by beheading or hanging the men, and beheading the women; to which is added burning alive or dead, quartering or hanging in chains, according to the nature of the crime: criminals of the nobility and gentry are usually beheaded or shot to death.

The punishment for stealing is a kind of a perpetual slavery, the guilty party being condemned to work all his life for the king in making fortifications, or in some other hard labour; and has always a collar of iron about his neck, with a bow coming over his head, to which a bell is fastened, that rings as he goes along.

Duels between gentlemen, if the one party is killed, are punished with the survivor's death, and a note of infamy upon the memory of both; if neither of them be killed, they are both condemned to prison, with bread and water, for two years, to which is added a fine of 1000 crowns; one year's imprisonment, and 2000 crowns. Reparations of honour, in cases of affront,

affront, are referred to the respective sovereign court; where begging pardon and a public recantation are usually inflicted.

Estates, as well acquired as inherited, descend to the children in equal portions, of which a son has two, and a daughter one; nor is it in the power of the parents to alter this proportion without the intervention of a judicial sentence, in case of their children's disobedience; they can only bequeath one tenth of their acquired possessions to any child whom they would chuse to favour. When an estate descends incumbered with debt, the heir usually takes two or three months time, as the law allows, to inquire into the condition of the estate of the deceased, and then either accepts the inheritance, or leaves it to the law, which in that case administers.

I have already observed that Lutheranism is the religion which is established in Sweden, and must now further observe, that the church is governed by an archbishop and ten bishops, whose studies are confined to their functions, as they are never called to counsel but only at the assembly of the states, nor troubled with the administration of any secular affairs: their revenues are very moderate, the archbishopric of Upsal not producing a clear revenue above 400 pounds a year, and the other bishoprics according to that proportion: under them are seven or eight superintendants, who have all the power of bishops, and only want the name; and over every ten churches is a provost or rural dean, with some authority over the inferior clergy, of whom the number may be computed by the number of churches, which in Sweden and Finland is not above 2000, to which the addition of chaplains and curates will augment the whole body of the clergy to near 4000: they are all the sons of common citizens and farmers, and

and can therefore content themselves with the small income of their places; which, besides some inconsiderable dues, arises from glebe lands, and one third of the tithes, of which the other two thirds are annexed to the crown for the support of the dignified clergy, and for pious uses. However the parochial clergy are in a capacity to exercise hospitality, and are very serviceable to poor travellers, especially if they are strangers, who often go from one clergyman's house to another, as in England they formerly used to go from constable to constable.

C H A P. III.

Of the MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the SWEDISH NATION.

THE nature of the climate in Sweden, which produces in general a very healthy and dry, as well as sharp air, disposes the natives to a strong and vigorous constitution, which is likewise assisted by a hardy education, hard lodgings, coarse fare, &c. and these qualify them to endure whatever disagreeable circumstances befall them, much better than those who are born in a more temperate climate and more indulgently bred: but on the other hand, it seems as if the severity of the climate had in some degree cramped the faculties of their bodies, and not only indisposed them for any great degree of dexterity and agility, but likewise had some influence upon their minds, which are seldom found to be endued with any eminent share of vivacity or pregnancy of wit: however, I must observe to their credit, that by industry, long experience, and travelling, many of them arrive to such a mature and solid judgment as to
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make a considerable figure in life ; being led by their genius to serious things, in which they have patience to go through with the studies they apply themselves to, they become eminent, and justly, very often, merit the title of great and able men ; no part of the North can compare with Sweden in this respect : but this does not seem to be the general character of the nation ; they are generally more apt to sit down with superficial acquisitions than to pursue their studies to a fundamental degree. This disposition of body and mind qualifies them more for a life of labour and fatigue than for that of art and curiosity, and the effect of it is visible in all orders of men in this kingdom, which may be divided into four different classes. 1st. The nobility and gentry. 2d. The clergy and lawyers. 3d. The citizens and merchants. 4th. The farmers and seamen.

The nobility and gentry are naturally men of courage and bravery, and mostly apply themselves to a military life, in which they are and have always been more famous for their intrepidity than for stratagems and intrigues. Those who are employed in the administration of civil affairs, though they are indeed laborious and indefatigable in their business, yet they seldom raise their speculations above what the necessity of their employments require, their abilities proceeding not so much from study as from experience in the tract of business. They have a graceful deportment, are inclined very much to value themselves at an extravagant rate, and to make the best appearance they possibly can to gain the respect of others. From the great connections they have had for near 200 years past with France, they have adopted much of the French manners and customs : the smallness of their fortunes and the laws of the country prevent them from wearing rich apparel, otherwise they would be no less extravagant in this article than their Gallic allies. They never descend

to any employments in the church, to the practice of law or physic, or to the exercise of any trade; and though to gain experience in maritime affairs they submit to the lowest offices in foreign states, yet there is scarcely an example known of a gentleman who has accepted the command of a Swedish merchant-ship.

The young nobility go very much into the French military service both by sea and land, and through a principle of policy in that nation they receive rank before all others; because by the laws of Sweden, when they return into their own country they receive the same rank in their own military service that they held abroad, whereby those young men are not only advanced much faster than they could possibly be in Sweden, but they become firm friends to the French interest when any particular relative to it comes to be debated before the diet.

The clergy in general are but moderately learned, and less acquainted with the fundamental principles of and disputes about religion, as having no adversaries at present to oppose; they affect great gravity, are esteemed for their hospitality, and have great credit among the common people: they are more given to transcribe and make collections than to digest their own thoughts, and commonly proportion their studies to their occasions.

If there are any class of men in this kingdom, who are in general dishonest, they are the lawyers; for though the laws and regulations of this country are very just and equitable, there is no part of Europe where justice is so partially administered, owing to the corruption and intrigues of this class of men, who

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as soon as they enter upon the exercise of their profession seem to forget all the principles of honour and honesty.

The citizens and merchants are not very intelligent in trade and commerce, nor from the smallness of their capital are they able to carry on their business without great credit from abroad, which, as will be hereafter observed, makes very much against them: they affect a luxurious life, and are rather inclined to impose upon those they can over-reach than to follow their respective callings in a fair way: in matters of trade they more easily perform the drudgery than dive into the mystery either of commerce or of manufactures, in which the generality set up for masters before they are half taught; so that in all such things as require ingenuity, neatness, or dexterity they are forced to be served by strangers, or at least by those who have for a long time studied their respective trades in foreign countries. This order of men, and indeed all other orders of men in Sweden, are very obliging and courteous to strangers who come among them, and appear by far the most civilized people of the northern nations, and are the most liberal and free in their deportment.

The farmers and seamen of this kingdom are the best disposed people of all; in general they are not yet corrupted by the reigning vices of the age; they are a set of people very religious in their way, and have just sentiments of morality and honesty, are constant frequenters of the church; and even the captains of their merchant-ships have prayers twice a day on board their ships when at sea: their seamen are bold and active, and are well instructed. The farmers, though free, are civil and respectful when they are sober, but strong liquors make them mad and ungovernable; most of them live in a poor condition, and are taught by necessity to practise several arts in a rude

manner, as making several instruments of husbandry and other necessaries, which they cannot spare money to buy; and to keep them to this, and also to favour the cities, it is not permitted to have more than one taylor or other such artizan in the same parish, though it be ever so large; and many of their parishes are fifteen or twenty miles in compass, especially in the rude and mountainous parts of the kingdom. These farmers are tolerably laborious when need compels them, but have little regard to neatness in their work, and are with difficulty brought to quit their old, slow, and toilsome methods for such new inventions as are more dextrous and easy.

There is no part of Europe where the high roads and the posts are kept in better order than in Sweden; where, though the country is so extremely rude, a stranger who has his own carriage may travel with greater dispatch and conveniency, and where the common people carry the orders of government respecting these matters into execution with more cheerfulness and civility, although they are the least paid for it of any nation perhaps in the world.

Whatever their modern writers pretend, it is certain, that learning can plead no great antiquity in this kingdom; the university of Upsal was not founded above 360 years since; and there are very few monuments extant of ancient date, except some funeral inscriptions in Runic characters, rudely cut upon the rocks and unhewn stones which are found in various parts of the kingdom; but as they have no date, so they seldom express more than the names of the persons, of whom no other memory remains. The most curious piece of learning among them is a translation of the Evangelists into the Gothic language, made

about 1350 years since by Ulphila, a bishop of the Goths, in Thracia, of which they have the sole ancient manuscript copy that is known to be in the world. Since the reformation, Gustavus Adolphus was the first great patron learning had in this country, by whom the universities, which had been much impaired, were endowed with reasonable salaries for professors in most sciences, which were likewise augmented by his daughter queen Christina, who by the fame of her own learning, and the favourable reception she gave to scholars, drew several learned men from foreign countries into Sweden, where they have left some proofs of their abilities and raised an emulation among the natives, whose best performances are in the history, antiquities, and ancient laws of their country, and in our days in chemistry, natural history, and botany.

The university of Upsal is governed by a chancellor, who is generally a great minister of state; by a vice-chancellor, who is always the archbishop; by a rector chosen out of the professors, of whom there are about twenty, who have about 160*l.* a year salary. There are generally seven or eight hundred students in this university, fifty of whom are maintained by the king, and some few others were formerly supported by persons of great fortune; the rest, who cannot subsist of themselves, spend the vacation in gathering the charity of the dioceses to which they belong, and upon which they subsist at the university all the rest of the year: they do not live in cottages, nor wear gowns, but lodge in private houses, and observe no other discipline than what their own necessity or disposition leads them to. The other universities in Sweden, at Abo and at Lunden, scarcely deserve the name of universities. In each diocese there is a free-school, where boys are prepared for the university, and some

other small schools, to which children are sent to learn to read, write, and chant their prayers, a custom so universal in this kingdom that very few want this kind of education; and more is not bestowed upon those who are not designed for study, that they may not waste their time in other needless improvements. Public provisions for the poor are not very great nor very numerous in this kingdom, there not being above five or six hospitals in the whole country, and these very small, and a little alms-house in each parish, which is supported by the charity of the inhabitants.

Marriages in Sweden are generally governed by the will of the parents, and founded so much upon interest that the inclination of the parties is seldom regarded. The nation is not much troubled with the extravagancies of lovers, stolen matches, &c. nor can the church give licence to marry without the publication of banns. The young men of fashion seldom marry till they are past thirty from motives of prudence; but great numbers of the young women think they ought to have husbands as soon as they are past their twentieth year, and if their parents or friends do not then provide for them, they provide for themselves, and sometimes in a manner not strictly conformable to the canons of the church. The women of fashion, while they have youth on their side, have generally fair complexions, good features, and good shapes, and seldom fail of a numerous issue. There is no part of the world where the women among the lower classes of people are made greater drudges than in this kingdom; for, besides the ordinary offices of their sex, they are put to plow, to thrash in the barns, to row in boats, to bear burdens at the building of houses and on other occasions, and often they are employed as postillions. Divorces and other separations between
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man and wife rarely happen, except among the inferior classes of people, where the innocent party is allowed to marry again. Cousin-germans cannot marry without the king's dispensation, which is more frequently granted than refused. They affect great pomp and superfluity in their nuptial entertainments, even beyond their abilities, for by the excess of a day they oftentimes involve themselves in inconveniencies which they feel many years. The same observation may be made of their funeral solemnities, which are often accompanied with much more feasting and mirth, pomp and shew, than are necessary on these occasions.

C H A P. IV.

*Of the Laws, Customs, and Policy of SWEDEN respecting
AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.*

THIS extensive country is exceedingly well situated for the northern commerce, has very safe and commodious harbours, both in the Baltic and in the Ocean, capable of receiving ships of the greatest burden, and a great many navigable lakes and rivers, which are well calculated for an internal navigation, and for the exportation of the natural productions of the country; but the greatest part of the kingdom is uncultivated and full of rocks and woods, and in many parts almost destitute of inhabitants.

The dominions of Sweden are nearly as extensive as are those of France, and yet, according to a just calculation which was laid before

before the diet in the year 1770, it was found that they contained no more than 2,350,000 inhabitants; a number which is not sufficient to cultivate the earth, and yet these people are employing all possible methods to introduce manufactures into their country.

In times past Sweden was much more populous than at present, as may be clearly demonstrated, not only from the number of ruined old houses which are to be seen in the different parts of the kingdom, but from the exportation of the produce of agriculture which they made in those days; whereas at present they are obliged to import a great part of the necessaries of life. The great plague and sweating sickness, which raged here in the latter end of the last and the beginning of the present century, carried off several hundred thousand persons; and by the scarcity that happened towards the end of the last century, one tenth part of the inhabitants of Finland were starved, and many more in the less fertile provinces of Sweden.

The nobility alone in this kingdom amount to 10,900 souls, who are invested with particular privileges; so that the two hundred and fourteenth part of the nation, or thereabouts, are privileged to live upon the labours of others. The number of principal manufacturers in Sweden is about 410, and the number of labouring hands in manufactures, together with their families, amount to about 12,300 persons, of whom 5200 belong to the fabricks of Stockholm.

The companies of tradesmen in the towns of this kingdom are about 7387, of whom 1520 are established at Stockholm, not to mention those who work under the protection of the nobility;

nobility; for it should be observed, that the different branches of trade, as well as every other thing relating to merchandize, are monopolized in this kingdom, and only a fixed number of every sort of artizans and tradesmen allowed in every town; so that when a young man has served his apprenticeship to any particular branch of business, he cannot exercise it till he has likewise served a certain number of years as a journeyman, and then not till there be a vacancy by the death of one of the masters: no wonder therefore that every kind of handicraft business is so dear in this country, and that young men should rather endeavour to seek their bread in foreign countries than be oppressed at home. Every town is a kind of corporation within itself, where all the masters are in a confederacy to keep up the price of their work, knowing that they have no rivals, and that there is no inland commerce between town and town whereby their respective commodities might be procured from other towns, and the importation of them is totally prohibited from other states: however some bad journeymen, getting protection from the nobility and others, set up their business to get their bread before they have a proper knowledge of it; and hence it is likewise that so many blundering workmen are found in this country, and that so little improvement is made in their manufactures.

The stagnation of inland commerce in this kingdom prevents the inhabitants of the different provinces from bartering the superfluities of their respective products the one with the other; and though the produce of agriculture is the first and great object of commerce, no encouragement is here given to carry on any trade with the produce of the earth, which is also one of the great reasons why agriculture hath been so little improved in this kingdom:

kingdom: there are very extensive tracts of lands in the most fertile provinces which still remain uncultivated and full of woods. Indeed there has been very little progress made in the cultivation of this kingdom for 200 years past, although at present the inhabitants do not grow a sufficient quantity of grain for their own consumption, neither does their pasture produce a sufficient quantity of provisions for their use. Great quantities of all kinds of grain are imported yearly into Sweden from Russia, Courland, and Pomerania; and all kinds of provisions, such as butter, cheese, salt-meat of different kinds, beer, rice, &c. from England and Ireland, though some of her provinces are very fertile, and abound in pasture.

The iron, and indeed a very considerable part of the export trade of this country, is monopolized and in the hands of foreigners, which greatly tends to injure her commercial interest. Besides iron, which indeed is near three-fourths of all her exports, she exports copper, wood, brass-wire, tar, pitch, pipe-staves, and a considerable quantity of herrings, dried cod-fish, and train-oil, which amounts, communibus annis, when the exchange is not too much against them, to 12,845,762 dollars silver-mint (a dollar silver-mint is three dollars copper-mint, and has nearly the value of an English shilling); and their whole import trade, which consists in grain for their own consumption, materials for manufacture, different kinds of provisions, sugar, coffee, hemp, flax, and sundry other small articles, amounts to 13,409,666 dollars silver-mint; so that Sweden would soon be exhausted of all the little wealth she has, if she was not supported by the money which is spent by foreigners in her different provinces, and what she receives from other courts in subsidies.

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But notwithstanding her apparently distressed situation, and this in a great measure arising from not cultivating the lands, and the general bad state of her agriculture, it is no small part of the policy of this government to keep the farmers or peasants in a poor and distressed state. Every farmer is prohibited by law to keep more than one servant to assist him in the cultivation of his land, if he has ever so great an estate to cultivate and improve; and is moreover forbidden to make a division of his farm, and thereby to multiply the number of labourers: and whoever attempts to cultivate small parcels of lands are declared, every year from the pulpit, to be vagabonds, and are forced into the military service, from which they can never be released except they are maimed or disabled. This order of men are likewise forbidden by law to purchase any of the free estates in the kingdom; and whatever lands they can legally obtain must be burdened with the maintenance of soldiers, from which the fiefs and free lands of the nobility are exempted.

The nobility are too proud to cultivate and improve their lands by agriculture, and the generality of the farmers so poor, and their hands so fettered by the policy of government, that they are not capable of doing it. It is true, according to the present plan of government established in Sweden, the farmers compose one order of the states; but as they are in so poor and distressed a situation, and so much dependent upon the crown and upon the nobility, they have but very little weight: and moreover they have the additional mortification of being precluded by law from all those rights and privileges which the nobility enjoy; and, in many instances, are denied the natural rights of mankind.

This kingdom is not a little empoverished, and the industry of her inhabitants checked, by the introduction of a number of manufactures, before the country was properly peopled, and so improved by agriculture that they could raise the fruits of the earth in such a quantity as not only to supply themselves but for exportation, and by taking off the hands, by higher wages, which should be employed in agriculture, to make bad manufactures at a much dearer rate than they can be purchased in other states: and moreover, by the great number of idle people who are employed in the towns, above the proportion of the common stock of the inhabitants, at a high price in making up things for the use of luxury, whereby agriculture is among the common people looked upon as dishonourable, and its labourers ill paid in proportion to what the others are paid; this not a little contributes to injure the industry of the inhabitants of Sweden. In a kingdom where the quantity of arable land is not much short of 20,000 square English miles, although it is much divided by mountains, forests, and lakes of water, and which has only 2,350,000 inhabitants, could it be supposed that such inhabitants, after having been thinking of cultivating this country for several hundred years, should now be obliged to import almost the half of the produce of agriculture that is necessary for their support: but such is the fact, which posterity will behold with wonder; although agriculture has been always esteemed the surest basis of all the riches and power of a state, it is in this kingdom deprived of its necessary supply of workmen, burdened with the heaviest taxes, and with the entire charge of recruiting both soldiers and sailors; and the wages of its labourers much less than are the wages of those who are employed in the works of luxury: the cultivators of the land are restrained by several laws, when all the rest of the inhabitants are encouraged by rewards: the
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possession of the farms is made insecure, when other trades are not only encouraged, but rendered secure at the expence of this employment: the rents of lands are augmented in good years, and not moderate in bad ones, and all the commodities of the farmers kept much below their price in proportion to all others.

The ordinary and established army of militia, together with the sailors and reserves, amount to above 50,000 men, who are all recruited out of those who cultivate the ground; and by the nearest calculation, one in six of the adult cultivators must serve in the army; that is, every five of the farmers must provide a sixth for the service of the army and navy; the nobility, and all the other orders of the state, being exempt from this duty. The common farmers and day labourers, being thus oppressed, are tempted to desert their native country, their relations and friends, to seek a more agreeable asylum in foreign parts: at a moderate calculation 10,000 men are supposed to emigrate yearly: love to our native country is congenial with us, and that in a degree may be easily supported by a moderate share of return from the government we live under, and cannot be extinguished without severities and violences; and therefore whatever promotes or extinguishes the love of our native country, will prevent or promote emigrations.

France is perhaps one of the most fertile and agreeable nations in Europe, and yet her inhabitants are continually emigrating, so that there is not any accessible kingdom in the world where we may not find a greater or lesser number of this people, and the reason is obvious: the greatest men of their own nation have remonstrated how establishments of luxury and of all things tending to it gain ground, at the expence of agriculture; how

the common people in the towns and country are oppressed by immoderate taxes and contributions; how the farmers-general, those harpies and pests of society, suck the vital blood of the country under pretence of increasing the revenues of the crown; how the offices of the state are multiplied greatly to the burden of it, and how those that are sold must have the difference refunded to the oppression of particular persons; how the royal establishments, and private monopolies, in money and commodities, ruin the labouring people; how the daily wages are by certain privileges, either on account of matters or of persons, unequal in the same works and trades; how low are the wages of the labourer in agriculture; how a personal self-love is rather inculcated and planted in the young people of fashion than love to their own country; how the words native country, fellow citizen, and patriot, are not able any longer to shelter any zealots in these points from the accusation of being an enthusiast, &c. by which the inhabitants are laid under a necessity of giving up the love of their own country, either to private glory, the luxury of the rich, or to a fear of violence and ruin; which fear is natural to all persons.

The inhabitants of Switzerland who are in foreign states, still retain the love of their own country, and return as soon as they have executed the plan which called them abroad: they enjoy the fruits of their free government, which, in all œconomical matters, secures them in a safe state of liberty with respect to their trade and finances, and overburdens none above equity; and in political matters rewards zeal and fidelity to the country; and also in matters of justice supports the liberty and property of every individual. In fact those acts of government which promote and increase the love of their country in the several orders of inhabitants,

bitants, are always returned with reciprocal love: but it must be confessed this is not a very common thing in our days.

When Sweden has a bad harvest, as she has no magazines, and cannot speedily get assistance from foreign parts, especially in the winter, when all her ports are frozen up, all those persons who are without households and abodes must be constrained to seek for their living in foreign parts: this is likewise the cause when a single province labours under the same disadvantages, as there is no communication between those provinces which abound in corn, and those that do not; and the loss in this latter case is the more worthy of reproach, as one part of the inhabitants of this state labour under a great want, whilst another abounds in a superfluity, for which they can find no vent but under great difficulties.

The sailors in most maritime states are allowed to carry little adventures, whereby they sometimes make certain emoluments; but this is strictly prohibited in Sweden; and though such a prohibition is one of the principal motives which induces their seamen to go into the service of foreign states, yet they pretend that in their present situation they cannot remove it. Another thing which greatly injures the agriculture and commerce of the inhabitants of this kingdom is, their running into a greater number of branches of business than they have people to perform: their present stock of inhabitants are not sufficient for cultivating the earth, and working their iron and copper, and yet they strive to go into all the branches of manufacture; and hence it is that their manufactured goods cannot be brought to market at so low a price as goods of the same kind can be manufactured and sold in other populous states. No branches of trade receive
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so much encouragement in this kingdom as those which tend to promote luxury: whenever money gets into the public circulation by any other means than by trade and industry, it for the most part enters first by the establishments of luxury, and does not fall into the hands of landed men, and the cultivators of the earth, before it has passed through two or three different hands; and hence it is that tradesmen, and especially those who work on such articles as are calculated for luxury, can better afford to pay their people than those who live by the produce of agriculture, and will thus allure the labouring people from the country to towns: besides, a journeyman who resides in a state where the whole vent of their manufactures is confined to home consumption, very seldom finds an opportunity to set up for himself when he has served his apprenticeship, and therefore goes into foreign states to be his own master. An imprudent and arbitrary police, which is practised in this country, very often promotes the emigration of the subjects, although instituted with a different design; as for instance, the laws and regulations which determine the precise number of servants to greater or smaller portions of land, without regarding whether there may be an overplus of servants or not, by the natural augmentation of the people, or by any other accidental cause; such overplus being out of place and service, by other laws will be reduced to one of the deplorable alternatives, either of being declared vagabonds, and lose their liberty, or being without a subsistence and protection to search after both in foreign countries: the most severe of the old feudal laws, respecting these matters, are strengthened by some modern laws; and, at the same time, the whole is left in such an indetermined state, that they may be greatly abused, according as the officers of the crown shall interpret them.

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The laws for preventing the divisions of lands into smaller portions, and for keeping the land in large parcels for culture in common; the many taxes which are doubly laid upon divided families and households; and also the law for serving people in that article, where it declares cultivators of the small parcels of lands (called *torpare*) to be vagabonds, which, as I have already observed, is every year thundered forth from the pulpit, are destructive to the real interest of the kingdom, promotes the emigrations of her inhabitants, and prevents the increase of families in the country, though the number of inhabitants may augment: and as these will not be able to get into service in the old families, they must therefore either hide themselves in the different provinces, or take refuge in foreign parts to prevent their being declared vagabonds by the above-mentioned laws; and by other laws made for recruiting the military, they are obliged to serve as soldiers or sailors, from which service they can never be released, except they are by old age or accident rendered unfit for service. The property of the farmers, and particularly those who farm and cultivate the crown lands, not being secured by law, greatly promotes emigrations, and is highly injurious to the interest of the kingdom, the title to and the possession of those lands being frequently disputed upon the most frivolous pretences, and often in the most unjust manner taken away from the cultivator, by one who has no pretensions to either; and the poor farmer finds himself divested of the property of those houses which he has built, and of the lands which he has cultivated; and his wife and family deprived of a place of abode and of a subsistence.

Another matter which tends greatly to discourage agriculture in this kingdom is, the estimation of the farms being founded upon the extent of ground, and not upon the amelioration of them.

them. A portion of land which would want fix labouring hands before it was estimated, will certainly want the full number of those labouring persons when under cultivation: but if a war, emigrations, sickness, or any other accidents, high taxes, difficulties in working the ground, or an increase in the works of luxury, diminish the number of working people in the country, so that the cultivators of the before-mentioned portion of land cannot have but four labourers to cultivate it, it is clear that the one third part of the taxes must remain annually unpaid; so that the cultivator must at least leave the tenure, and all probable hopes of recovering the lands of his ancestors; for if such taxes and conventional rents are not paid within three years, the land is forfeited. It is true that certain exemptions and liberties are granted to tenants in cases of a war, or of any other extraordinary accident; but these are by no means adequate to the want of working hands; and besides these misfortunes are not the only sources of wanting labourers in the country, which being greatly unsettled with respect to its value, and the produce of agriculture rising and falling suddenly, and without a proportion to the value of other commodities, the cultivators of the earth can never know the just value of their goods, so as to prevent their being indebted in the towns, and to make provision for the payment of their yearly taxes. It will be impossible for the farmer to save any money when the coin rises very high in its fictitious value on the one hand, and the produce of agriculture falls in its value on the other; and he must in time be infallibly ruined by a cause which he does not conceive.

The common law is likewise very severe against the farmers and cultivators of the ground in the present state of things; if one of these persons happen to kill a woodcock in prohibition

term, or cuts down an oak tree which is prejudicial to his corn land or meadows, although he may be ignorant of the common law on that head, he very often undergoes a corporal punishment. The punishments annexed to trespasses of good order should never be more than adequate to the crimes, and certainly in this case there can be no proportion between killing a woodcock or cutting down an oak tree, and scourging the body of a cultivator of the land or a tenant.

The administration of common justice is very injurious to the farmers as well as to the trading interest of this kingdom; although the laws and orders of the states are very just and reasonable in themselves, yet the proceedings of the law courts, from the wickedness and corruption of the judges and lawyers, are too prolix, and so full of chicanery and exceptions, that the simple country people cannot possibly search through them and find out all the evasions by which a crafty adversary will cover his designs; and as these judges and lawyers, from their scanty allowance, are so much tempted to take bribes in matters of moment, where a poor man has not wherewith to answer their demands he has no chance for having justice done him, which is likewise another cause why the emigrations of the poorer sort of people are so great from this country even into other states which are not more fertile than this. Copenhagen is provided with nearly the same number of Swedish workmen as with those of the Danish state. In Peteribourg, Dantzic, and all the towns of the Baltic, Swedish sailors and working people are to be found in great numbers, and as well in Moscow and all the large towns in Germany. At the end of the last war between France and England there were near 5000 Swedish sailors in the English service; and these people emigrate in great numbers

as far as France, Spain, and Italy. In vain does Sweden attempt to prevent such emigrations by violence; this is not to be done either by prohibitions or punishments, neither are such measures reasonable, prudent, or possible: it is unjust and unreasonable to prevent a man's seeking the happiest way of living in his power, or to confine a fellow-citizen who has not offended to any particular spot. It is not prudent to check the curiosity of any person, as such check will only tend to heighten it; neither is it possible for a country as extensive as Sweden to have all her frontiers and sea-coasts watched.

The king of Prussia has prohibited every person from going out of his dominions without a particular royal permission, but has gained nothing by this regulation, not even in the time of the most profound peace; but on the contrary has very much discouraged foreigners from settling in his dominions. The commanders of all the French ports have likewise particular orders not to let any Frenchman pass without a passport, and yet there is not a civilized country in the known world where there are not even great numbers of the manufacturing part of this nation; even the best French authors confess that these orders have not in the least tended to diminish their emigrations. In the time of Lewis the Fourteenth, when every port and almost every avenue of the kingdom was watched to prevent the escape of the Hugonots, near 600,000 of those unhappy people got off with all their effects. In fact, that infallible truth of *ponitur causa, ponitur effectus*, proves that there is no other effectual method for preventing emigrations but to remedy and alter the political causes of them, which extinguish the love of the native country, and make it more difficult to live there than in other countries.

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The chief of the fossil productions of Sweden is iron, which is her staple commodity, and without which the kingdom could not be supported: her exports in iron amount, one year with another, to 9,225,184 dollars silver-mint. The Swedes have likewise some rich mines of copper, to the manufacturing and improving of which this government is particularly attentive; but they seem to have adopted some of the Spanish politics with regard to the produce of their mines, which they think to be inexhaustible, and that they shall always find the same markets for their metals that they have at present; and therefore, as the produce has for some time past and does actually at this time procure them the necessaries of life, they neglect every other rational means for improving their country, although the produce of their copper-mines is of late years much diminished, and many of their richest iron-mines are worked so deep that they cannot any longer drain them of the water.

The one half, or thereabouts, of all the bar-iron which is made in this country is exported to Great Britain and Ireland; and if the season happens to be a little unfavourable, or any accident attends their mines or forges, their merchants are so poor that they are obliged to draw upon the British merchants for the greatest part of the annual exports long before one pound of their iron is shipped off; and yet notwithstanding all this indulgence, and notwithstanding Great Britain pays this country a very considerable balance of trade yearly (in the year 1741 the imports from Sweden to Great Britain were 192,586l. 10s. 3d. and the exports to Sweden were only 22,166l. 7s. 5d. in the year 1762 the imports were 201,160l. and the exports only 17,507l. in the year 1765 the imports were 234,452l. and the exports only 49,003l.) so infatuated is this government

in her plan of policy, that on all occasions she takes every method to distress the merchants trading to Great Britain and Ireland, from whence is drawn the greatest part of their specie, and to encourage those who are trading with France; a branch of commerce which drains their country yearly of a sum of money equal to what they receive in the balance of their trade with the British dominions.

Almost every species of English manufactured goods is prohibited in this kingdom, though Great Britain pays them yearly such a balance of trade; and besides this disadvantage the government of Sweden has laid a duty upon all the English ships which come there to take off their iron, from a supposition that they have a monopoly of that commodity, and without considering that their neighbours the Russians are advancing by great strides to cut them out entirely in that branch of business, by the immense quantities of iron which they make at present in their dominions. It will be necessary that I should observe, that of late years they rate the value of the Swedish bar-iron at 10*l.* per ton at the English custom-house, and from that valuation calculate the sum of the imports above-mentioned; but by the advanced price of that commodity in Sweden, and the duty which the Swedes have laid upon the English ships which come to carry off their iron, it costs the merchant 12*l.* 10*s.* per ton in the country at an average, so that at least one quarter part more should be added to the imports from Sweden.

Though some provinces of this kingdom are extremely well calculated for the growing of flax and hemp and for the feeding of cattle, the inhabitants import the greatest part of the hemp they use for their cordage and the flax they use for their linens
from

from Ruffia and Courland : they have very little wool but what they can procure from other countries ; and though this kingdom abounds with oak they cannot tan their hides, but have the greatest part of their shoe-leather from England. In fact, all the materials which are necessary for the manufactures of this country are drawn from other states, and consequently all the manufactures made here must be dearer than are those of the same quality made in any other state.

The most common manufactures of the southern states of Europe are smuggled into this country, and can be sold near one hundred per cent. cheaper than they can here make goods of the same quality : but what still more contributes to raise the manufactures of Sweden, and to encourage foreigners to smuggle their manufactures into this country, is the luxury, idleness, and extravagance which reign among all the classes of the manufacturers and tradesmen, for which the former must have large wages and the latter great profits to support : the former demand near double the wages that the manufacturers of the same class have in other states ; and the latter must have from forty to sixty per cent. profit upon the prime cost of their goods or they will not sell them, concluding, as they imagine very rationally, that it is more for their ease and advantage to sell only one thousand pounds worth of goods in one year at forty per cent. profit, than to sell four thousand pounds worth at ten per cent. profit ; from hence it is that there are many kinds of manufactured goods which might be made and sold in this country upon very reasonable terms which cannot, according to the plan of policy adopted by the manufacturers and salesmen, be made at present : and brought to market for less than double the price for which foreigners can sell the same species and quality of manufactures ;

but

but this is an object about which the government of this country do not concern themselves, and many of the principal persons in Sweden purchase in preference the goods which foreigners smuggle into their country. Is it possible therefore that this country can ever flourish by manufactures whilst the present regulations of government are supported? and yet these people seem to have a desire of becoming as great and powerful as they were when Gustavus Adolphus governed them, without considering that the great increase of specie has quite altered the system of policy in Europe since that time, and that they have greatly neglected every rational method and regulation which tended to bring an additional quantity of money into their country.

The foreign commerce of this kingdom, as I have already observed, is very inconsiderable, and it is almost impossible according to the present system of politics adopted by this government, that it should be otherwise. The regulation of the exchange alone, as it is conducted in this country, would be sufficient to ruin the best established commerce.

It should be observed that the inhabitants of Sweden have very little specie in circulation; large pieces of copper stamped and small bank notes are their only circulating money. The balance of specie which they receive from England and Holland is chiefly drawn off by France; and as the other powers from whom they draw a great part of their grain and other provisions have likewise a great balance against them, for which those powers refuse payment in the current paper circulation of this country, the Swedish merchants are obliged to procure themselves bills of exchange upon England, Holland, Hambourg, &c. wherewith

to make their payments; and this is one great source of their unhappiness.

At a time when the exchange is about fifty Swedish copper dollars for a pound sterling, a merchant, for instance, buys up a quantity of corn or any other merchandize in foreign countries, which he is to pay for in bills of exchange, and immediately sells it out for Swedish money, so as to gain, as he imagines, a reasonable profit; but before he has got his bills ready to make his payment, the course of exchange is so raised by the demand for bills, and partly by artifice, that the pound sterling is worth seventy, eighty, or one hundred copper dollars, and consequently this merchant, so far from being a gainer by his contracts, becomes a very considerable loser, and thinks himself happy if he can prevent his bankruptcy. This is so frequently the case in Sweden, scarcely a week passing without there being some considerable alteration in the exchange, that merchants are greatly intimidated, not only, if I may use the expression, from entering into a speculative commerce, but from entering deeply into any commerce at all. Indeed when there is a great balance of trade against any country, and when the means for payment of that balance becomes thus difficult and uncertain, the merchant will always stand upon a very precarious foundation; his credit will be greatly limited, and he cannot expect to reap those advantages from commerce that another can whose credit is better established. This is the case of the Swedish merchants, who are frequently obliged to draw bills upon England and Holland upon speculation, and consequently must pay much above the usual course of exchange for the same, which is a tax upon their foreign commerce too great for merchants of their small capital to bear.

For

For this, and other reasons of the like nature, the principal merchants of this country are fond of monopolizing the different branches of commerce, and of raising the prices of their merchandize to an unwarrantable height. Thus the different sorts of their iron, their copper, and brass wire are made monopolies by private persons, who enhance the price of them to such a degree, that the merchants of other states, particularly the Russians, can bring the same kinds of commodities to foreign markets at a much cheaper rate than those of this country can bring theirs.

Their trade to Portugal and Spain for salt, fruit, and wines is not much against them, especially the former, as they barter their iron, fish, and copper in exchange for these articles: they could not subsist without great quantities of salt, not only for their ordinary consumption, but for preserving their herrings, with which likewise they carry on a considerable commerce to all parts of Europe. From the port of Gottenbourg alone they export, one year with another, 150,000 barrels of herrings to the different parts of Europe.

The worst branch of trade which they have is what they carry on with France, as it draws off all their ready money for the objects of luxury only, and takes off very little of their natural commodities, except a small quantity of brass wire and of iron. It is calculated that Sweden makes about 31,000 ton of iron yearly, of which England, and in fact the British dominions, take off from 16 to 19,000 ton, and France only 200 ton. Sweden takes of France a great quantity of wine, silks, and a variety of other little articles of luxury. From Great Britain she takes only a small quantity of tin, lead,
Newcastle

Newcastle coals, sugar, and fundry small articles of manufacture which the captains of merchant ships smuggle into the kingdom. From Holland they receive spices, coffee, sugar, and a variety of little articles from the West-India islands. Their trade with all parts of the Baltic is against them, as they are obliged to draw from thence great quantities of grain and of all kinds of provisions.

Of late years the Swedes have established an East-India company at Gottenbourg, whence they send some ships annually to China and to the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. They have no kinds of merchandize to send from Sweden to India, except some iron and copper, and those articles they cannot find a market for in any considerable quantity, so that the greatest part of their cargoes must be paid for in specie: how far this branch of trade is beneficial for Sweden, where there is so little specie, and where the merchants are obliged to procure silver at a considerable premium, is an affair that I shall now enquire into. Undoubtedly if the cargoes of the East-India ships which are landed in Sweden were for the consumption of that kingdom, this branch of commerce would soon bring the inhabitants to destruction; but I find by the custom-house books of Gottenbourg that they export East-India goods to the amount of 250,000*l.* sterling yearly, which are smuggled into Scotland and Ireland, and entered regularly into several ports of the Baltic, to Hambourg and to Bremen, which is rather more than the prime cost and freight of all the goods they bring from India, and consequently Sweden has her own consumption free of all charges; and as long as the merchants of this kingdom can find a market for the surplus of their East-India goods, this trade cannot be detrimental to them, but the contrary. The uniting

the Isle of Man to the crown of Great Britain, where the merchants of Gottenbourg as well as those of Copenhagen had considerable magazines of East-India goods, was a terrible loss to the Swedish and Danish East-India companies.

There are few foreign merchants in Sweden; the laws of that kingdom are rather severe against them: no foreign merchant who has lived any time in Sweden can retire and carry off his property with him without paying one third part of it to the government, even though such merchant has been naturalized in the kingdom. The same law likewise enacts, that the one third part of all the property of any foreign merchant who dies in Sweden shall be forfeited to the crown; but this law has not been so beneficial to the Swedes as formidable to foreign merchants, especially the English, who for that and other reasons never think of marrying and settling in this kingdom so long as their affairs are in good order to return home with a competent estate and credit, the former of which they may easily remit by bills of exchange. Hence therefore, by examining and comparing the policy and legal regulations of Sweden relating to commerce, notwithstanding their boasted liberties, with the policy and regulations of other commercial nations, it will soon be seen that as long as the present regulations and plan of policy are continued this nation can never be brought into a flourishing state by her agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, and that every attempt which is made towards it, before their whole political system is altered, will prove abortive.

C H A P. V.

*Of the REVENUES and RESOURCES of this Kingdom, and her
MILITARY FORCES by Sea and Land.*

THE standing revenues of Sweden arise from the crown lands, from the customs and excises, from the capitation-tax, from the tithes before mentioned, from the silver and copper mines, from the proceedings at law, and other less considerable particulars, which are computed to amount to about 10,104,406 dollars silver-mint, which in the year 1769, when the pound sterling was worth about fifty-one copper dollars, was about 594,180l. yearly, of which the crown lands produce above the one third and the customs another third. The capitation-tax is paid only by the farmers, each of whom, above sixteen and under sixty, pays about an English shilling or something more yearly. Very near the one third of all the revenues of the kingdom is appropriated to the support of the royal family, and the remainder to the support of the civil and military establishments.

This crown has generally received a subsidy from France for above 100 years past, and has not a little suffered by it: during the reigns of Charles the Eleventh and Charles the Twelfth, Sweden was sacrificed to the interest of this kingdom; and during the last war with the king of Prussia, for the sake of a small subsidy from France, the crown of Sweden was forced to contract a debt of 3,500,000l. which has since been considerably

augmented, so that at present this debt is become near 5,000,000*l.* a sum which in such a poor country as Sweden can never be paid, and will always be a dreadful weight upon the springs of government and upon their commercial interest, especially as there are no resources nor any extraordinary means whereby additional supplies might be raised in this kingdom, as the bulk of the people have much difficulty to procure the necessaries of life in their present situation, and the greatest number of the nobility could not support themselves were it not for the posts which they hold under the crown.

The Swedes gained great reputation and made considerable conquests in the last and in the beginning of the present centuries; but this was not so much owing to their native strength as to the foreign assistance of Germans, Scotch, and French, to the intrepidity of their leaders, and to the advantages which they had in those days in point of discipline. These foreigners introduced the arts of war and military discipline into this nation, which in former times had only the advantage of courage and numbers. It is true, that in all ages they have been addicted to war and violence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, till Gustavus Vasa, by the superiority of his own genius, arranged their troops in some order; Gustavus Adolphus increased their military discipline, and Charles the Twelfth carried it to the greatest height known in those days; but it has not been improved nor even their arms changed since the death of that prince; so that, if we except the troops of Poland or of Portugal, the Swedes are at present the worst disciplined troops in Europe, although, on the other hand, they are as brave and as well-formed men as any in the world.

Charles

Charles the Eleventh, who had had some experience in war in his youthful days, and on whom the States had conferred an absolute power to put the militia into such order and discipline as he should think proper, made such regulations in all the particulars relating to this matter as were requisite to bring it to perfection, and which are the basis of the regulations which subsist at present. The injunctions which he made about the cavalry, which the nobility and gentry were to furnish, were so exact that it was not even in their power to put either the man or the horse that was once listed to any other employment, but they were to be always ready whenever they were called upon, with such arms and equipage as the king directed: in default of which severe penalties were inflicted, and the estates they held under the crown by that service subject to confiscation. The infantry were raised from among the farmers, as I have already observed, and the king's commission distributed the infantry of each province proportionably to the number of farms, each of which to the value of about sixty pounds a year, not being appropriated to the officers or to their peculiar services, was charged with one foot soldier, who received from the farmer diet, lodgings, common cloaths, and about twenty shillings a year in money, or otherwise a small wooden house was built for him at the farmer's charge, who also furnished him with as much hay as would keep a cow in winter and pasturage in summer, and plowed and sowed for him such a parcel of ground as would afford him bread; the married soldiers generally accepted the latter condition, the unmarried ones took up their abode with the farmer, but they were not bound to do him any service without money; and when once they took the farmer's wages, and were at the same time listed in the king's service, they
were

were obliged to serve as long as they were able, and if they deserted they were generally punished with death.

This institution has always been very burthenfome to the farmers, who are poor, and who have frequently been at a great charge to hire men (who have often cost twenty pounds each) which they are obliged to do whenever their respective soldiers die. In peaceable times this charge is not so heavy as in times of war, when men are unwilling to serve and recruits more frequently wanted.

All the common provincial soldiers are thus provided for at the country's charge, but all the officers, both of cavalry and of infantry, are maintained by the crown. Charles the Eleventh appropriated a certain part of the crown lands for that purpose; every officer has a convenient house and a competent portion of land to live upon, situated in that part of the country where the regiment he belongs to is quartered, together with the rents of as many other crown farms as will make up his pay, and which are punctually paid either in money, corn, or such other commodities as they are in want of. A colonel of foot has of the rents of these lands about 300l. a year, and the rest of the officers proportionably; so that all the officers of a foot regiment cost about 2500l. a year. What charge the cloathing of the common soldiers once in two or three years, their arms, and such other necessaries, may put the king to cannot be so easily computed. The provincial regiments which I saw, appeared to have the same arms that were used in the reign of Charles the Twelfth, and consequently the expence of arms cannot be very extraordinary.

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The officers of horse are provided for much in the same manner, with only an additional allowance for their horses. All the civil officers who reside in the country have farms annexed to their respective employments for the payment of their salaries in the same manner as the militia. The laws which are made for maintaining this constitution appear to be very exact and particular, and provide with great caution that neither the farmer shall be oppressed, nor the lands and houses ruined; for which reason all such crown farms are visited yearly, and the possessor compelled to make such repairs as are found needful; and every officer upon his first coming to such an estate subscribes an inventory of it, so that when he is advanced he cannot take possession of another charge till he has put that estate into as good a condition as when he found it; and in case of death his heirs cannot inherit his effects till that is done. But there are great abuses often made of these just regulations; and through the corruption and partiality of the civil magistrates the farmers are often oppressed and injured.

In the time of peace all crimes and trespasses committed by the soldiery fall under the cognizance of the civil magistrates, who have the same authority over them as over the rest of the king's subjects, except when they are encamped, or in garrison, or upon their march, in which cases, as also in all matters that relate solely to their profession, they are tried by a council of war, and their officers have jurisdiction over them, without whose leave a private soldier is not permitted to lodge out of his quarters, nor to be absent a day from the parish he belongs to: the inferior officers cannot be absent from their charge but by the permission of their colonel; nor captains, and those above them, without the king's leave. To keep them in proper discipline,

discipline, each company meets and is exercised once a month, and every regiment once or twice a year; at these times only they wear the king's cloaths, which at their return are generally laid up in the churches. In the time of war they are governed by the articles of war, and tried by courts martial under the instructions of the auditors general and other officers concerned in the administration of justice. The troops which are in Stralfund, and in that part of Pomerania which still appertains to Sweden, and also the regiment of foot guards, are not under this establishment, but are paid in money.

The whole body of the king of Sweden's forces at present consists in the established militia in Sweden and in Finland, which are about 38,000 men, together with about 4000 regular troops in Pomerania, and the regiment of foot guards, which is 2000 men. Above the ordinary establishment the king and the states have annexed to each regiment several supernumerary farms to answer any extraordinary accidents, and to furnish a subsistence for such officers as are past service. For the common soldiers, whom age or wounds have rendered unfit for military service, there is one general hospital, which has a good fund; and besides that every officer who is advanced pays a sum of money to it proportionably to the post he rises to: a colonel pays 100 crowns, and others in proportion. Besides the arms that are in the hands of the militia, there is a magazine at Stockholm and another at the castle of Jeneöping towards the borders of Denmark; and these, as occasion serves, are furnished from a considerable iron-work at Orebrow. There is likewise a train of artillery always ready in the castle of Jeneöping, which is the only inland fortress of any consequence in Sweden; because, as I have already observed, this kingdom is so fortified

by nature, and so full of passes, where a handful of men may defend themselves against a great army, that it would be necessary to build fortifications therein. On the borders of Norway, besides some small forts which defend the passages over the mountains, there is the castle of Bahunz, situated upon a rock in the midst of a deep river, but overlooked by the rocks near it. The city of Gottenburgh was likewise intended for a fortification, but it is wholly commanded by the neighbouring hills. The town of Marstrand and the castle of Elfsburgh are places of defence near the sea; on the side towards Denmark are Halmstad, Wareburg, Landscrona, and Malmo, which are places of some defence. Upon and near the Baltic shore are Carlsrona, Calmar, and Christianstadt, with two small forts at the entrance of the river leading to Stockholm. The northern parts of Sweden are covered with Lapland; the borders of Finland, towards Russia, with vast woods and morasses, and in some parts with castles and forts to defend the passages.

The naval forces of Sweden, which heretofore made a good figure against their enemies, are now in a very poor and debilitated state. When I was at Carlsrona, in the year 1770, the place where their fleet is stationed, and where are the dockyards, storehouses, and all the materials they have for the use of their marine, I was amazed to see the maritime force of this state in such a situation: about twenty old ships of the line, the one half of which were rotten and unfit for sea, and ten or eleven frigates and sloops of war, almost in the same situation, composed their whole navy. Their storehouses were almost empty, and all the officers and men of their dockyards complaining of being greatly in arrears with respect to their pay. It is true they still keep up the form of a marine establishment, the officers of which are supported much in the same manner as the officers of

the militia are, and the men are raised from among the farmers to recruit the body of seamen, as hath been already observed: but as they have been for some time past without action, there is at present little more than the form. The port of Carlscrona is defended by several batteries of cannon, and is supposed, in this country, to be a place of great strength; but four English seventy or eighty gun ships would soon silence all these batteries, if they were to be attacked by them, and then the place could not resist two days.

The seamen who are destined for the service of this fleet are of two orders, much like those of Denmark; one order of which receive pay, and is always ready not only to man the ships of war, but to furnish workmen in the dockyards, and for equipping the fleet: when they are at land they receive ten shillings sterling every month, and a certain quantity of provisions; when they are working in the dockyards they have likewise lodgings prepared for them, otherwise they are lodged at the farmers houses. The other order are those out of whom this corps are recruited; they receive no pay but when they are actually employed. The captain and officers of their men of war have fixed salaries, nearly upon the same footing with those of the militia. The Swedish ships of war are much better constructed than are those of Denmark, but still they are rather too short and too high above the water: they carry the same number of men in proportion to their number of guns that the English ships of war carry. All the officers and seamen who belong to the fleet, as well as all those who work in the dockyards, are under the jurisdiction of a court-martial, and are judged according to the marine laws established by Charles the Eleventh, in all cases both civil and criminal: when this court is to give sentence, and to condemn a seaman to a capital punishment, or to deprive an officer

officer of his employment, there is an appeal from it, in criminal cases, to the auditor-general of the marine; and in civil cases, to the sovereign courts.

When the fleet is at sea, the captain of every ship absolutely commands all the officers and men who sail with him: he and his officers form a court martial, and judge all the seamen who are under their command; but the sentences must be approved by the admiral before they can be carried into execution; and if they sentence the criminal to be punished capitally, the execution must be deferred till it be approved by the king.

In case of a war, the military regulations which are made in this kingdom are well calculated for the defence of the country; but Sweden is by no means in a situation to carry on a war offensively without a very great subsidy from some foreign court; and even in that case, considering the wretched situation of their marine, and their being so much behind hand in the modern military discipline, they would make but a very indifferent figure against many of their neighbours. In the last general war they received a considerable subsidy from France to declare war against the king of Prussia, and they engaged themselves to attack this prince with a considerable body of forces in Pomerania. It is true they collected an army of 10,000 men to act offensively in Prussian Pomerania, and in the marches of Brandenburg. But Frederic, who had seldom more than 3000 men to spare from other services, always kept them back with this little corps, and sometimes forced them to retire under the cannon of Stralsund.

Gustavus Adolphus, or Charles the Twelfth, would have made this little army more formidable to the Prussians than either the army of France or of Russia: however this force in four or five

years time, notwithstanding the French subsidy, involved the Swedish government so much in debt, that, considering the smallness of their public revenue, and their having no resources, it will be a long time before they will be in a situation to pay it off, and to retrieve their affairs. Nothing but the œconomy of the chiefs of the cap-party, if they had the administration of affairs, could bring the finances of this kingdom at present into any tolerable order. But since the late revolution in the government, and since the direction of the public affairs is changed into another channel, I fear it will be some time before Sweden will be in a situation to enter again into an offensive war with any tolerable prospect of success.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Causes of the various REVOLUTIONS which have happened in this Kingdom.

WHOEVER peruses the preceding brief history of the rise and progress of this ancient government, will clearly perceive not only that it has passed through a great variety of revolutions, but also that the cause of those revolutions have always been, what I have often before advanced, either that the prince or governor attempted to govern contrary to the natural interests and dispositions of the bulk of the people, whilst they had the power in their hands to assert their rights; or that the people, by falling into divisions among themselves, gave the prince the opportunity by joining one party to crush the whole, and to form the government as he thought proper.

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The ancient history of this monarchy is filled with examples which tend to verify this doctrine; but as the government was not regularly formed before the beginning of the fourth century, I shall confine myself only to such examples as have happened since that æra, of which we have more particular histories: the ancient inhabitants of this kingdom, like those of Denmark, from the foundation of their monarchy, had always elected such persons to be their kings as they supposed were the most capable and most worthy to hold the reins of government, giving the preference however to one of the royal family who had last occupied the throne, except they had some particular dislike to that family. But before the new elected king was crowned, and invested with the royal authority, he was obliged to sign a capitulation, and to promise that he would govern according to the laws then existing, and support the rights and privileges of the different orders of the people; and in case that he deviated from this rule, he discharged his people from the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to him, and gave them liberty to take their measures accordingly. Originally the rights and privileges of every order of the people were included in these capitulations, or covenants, between the king and his subjects; but afterwards the nobility assumed a prerogative over their fellow subjects, and repeatedly formed the king's capitulation in such a manner, without the consent of the people, as they were continually about the king's person, that he was obliged to support them in many of their prerogatives, and as the bulk of the people were not acquainted with the nature of those acts, and for want of having proper leaders, were not in a situation to oppress them by violence, it was pretended that, after a certain time, these royal concessions acquired the force of laws, although nothing was more contrary to the ancient Gothic constitution of the kingdom. When the Roman Catholic clergy were invested, by the power
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of the crown, with particular privileges and prerogatives, those pests of society, under the mask of religion, took advantage of the ignorance and bigotry of those dark ages, accumulated to themselves the greatest part of the riches of the state, soon became the rivals of the nobility, and at length, still under the mask of religion, carried their tyranny, oppression, and avarice to such a height, that they became a scandal to all civilized government.

The people had now two orders of tyrants to support; and the power of the crown was so much limited, and the prerogatives of the nobles and clergy so much increased, by the concessions of many of their kings, that the government became more aristocratical than monarchical; the people were in a state of slavery and dependence upon those orders, and the king was only the instrument to execute the resolutions of a few individuals: a government so circumstanced could never be kept in a tranquil state, but must continually be subject to those outrages and revolutions which will always be the consequences of tyranny and oppression.

Magnus Smeck, who reigned in Sweden about the middle of the fourteenth century, having caused his son Haquin to be elected king of Norway, and married him to Margaret daughter of Valdemar the Fourth king of Denmark, and thereby secured the friendship and alliance of these two kingdoms, formed the resolution to make himself absolute in Sweden, and to abolish entirely the senate of this kingdom: but the Swedes having discovered his designs, immediately took up arms against Magnus, and although he was powerfully assisted by his son, and his ally the king of Denmark, the Swedes alone defeated all the forces of those three kings; and at length drove Magnus out of Sweden,

and immediately elected a new king, which they regarded as the amplest fruit of their victory.

Their new elected king was prince Albert, second son of the duke of Mecklenburg, nephew to Magnus; and though he owed the crown to the good-will of the Swedes, who would not suffer an absolute dominion, he immediately applied himself to procure an absolute authority. The senate was odious to him, but the recent example of his predecessor prevented him from endeavouring to abolish it, and he had no hopes of gaining over the rich and powerful lords by presents, who regarded themselves rather as guardians than as counsellors of the king. However Albert, to balance their authority, called into his court several princes of his family, and many German lords and officers, to whom he entrusted the command of his forces, and of the principal fortresses in the kingdom; he even made some of his German friends senators of Sweden, which was against the fundamental laws of the state; and under different pretences brought a considerable number of foreign troops into the kingdom, who made themselves extremely odious to his subjects; he afterwards laid new taxes upon the people for the support of these troops; and by taking some other measures of this nature, which were meant to establish his authority, though contrary to the laws of the state, he made the Swedes jealous of their privileges; and finding themselves oppressed by the person whom they had just before raised to the throne, they resolved to depose him as they had done his predecessor; which, by the assistance of Margaret of Valdemar, they soon after effected, and taught this unhappy prince, as well as his predecessor, that no king who is raised to the throne by a contract with his subjects, has a right to dispense with that contract, as his power and authority is founded upon that alone; and as soon as he breaks any part of it his subjects.

subjects are not obliged to regard the remainder ; and that no king can be sure of a peaceable and happy reign who attempts to govern contrary to the interest and inclination of the bulk of his subjects.

The deposition of Albert, and the advancement of Eric to the crown of Sweden, through the interest of Margaret of Valdemar, made a great change in the Swedish government, as hath been already observed. The political measures of Margaret had procured her a great ascendancy over the Swedes, whose turbulent disposition she kept within bounds as long as she lived. But Eric no sooner saw himself sovereign of the three kingdoms, than he thought his power placed him above all laws, and that he might trample under foot the rights and privileges of these nations ; he treated the Danes and the Norwegians in the same manner that he treated the Swedes, and pretended to reign in the most absolute and despotic manner, without any regard for the inhabitants of those kingdoms, who would willingly be his subjects, but would not suffer themselves to be treated as slaves. The conduct of Eric soon made him extremely odious, so that his three kingdoms revolted against him, and forced him to quit the government ; and if he had any reflection at all, he must have been convinced also of the truth of the proposition that I have before laid down ; namely, that whenever a prince attempts to govern contrary to the inclination and interest of his subjects, and to treat them with rigour, if they have any force left to defend themselves, his government will soon have an end, as such a government is contrary to the ends of human society.

The deposition of Eric made way for Charles Canuteson to the crown of Sweden, who had immediately a party formed against him in this kingdom by the Roman Catholic clergy, because

because he attempted to reunite to the crown several lands and prerogatives which this body of men had most unjustly usurped. Not content with having treated this prince as a heretic, because he had re-assumed his own property, and with excommunicating him after a solemn mass at Upsal, they sent a deputation to the king of Denmark to offer him the crown, and promised to receive him into their towns and fortresses as their sovereign; and when the archbishop of Upsal heard that the king of Denmark was upon the frontiers of the kingdom with an army, he laid down all his church ornaments, which he now regarded as trivial things, cloathed himself in military armour, and put himself at the head of an army to dethrone his lawful king, who had done him no injustice: all the other bishops followed his example, and soon made their country a theatre of war. The conduct of these christian bishops was mightily approved by the Court of Rome, and by the representative of St. Peter; but certainly if that good apostle, who taught obedience to magistrates, had been upon earth, he would have given both the Roman and the Swedish bishops a severe reprimand, and told them what St. Paul told the Jewish high priest; God shall smite ye, you whited walls, do you pretend to be the chiefs of a religion which teacheth peace and love to all mankind, when you are the means of spreading fire and sword among your fellow citizens?

However these pastors of the christian church had such credit among the deluded multitude of those days, that after the kingdom was almost destroyed by a scene of war and bloodshed, Canuteson was dethroned; and taught that useful lesson which all princes should be taught, before things are carried to this extremity, that their government can never be happy and dura-

ble, either when it is contrary to the fundamental laws of their respective states, or contrary to the interests and inclinations of a powerful party of their subjects, whilst they are in a situation to repel force by force.

Christian the Second, when he came to the crown of Sweden, seemed to have at least some part of this maxim in view when he formed the resolution to destroy all the principal persons of Sweden, who were in a situation to oppose him; but the conduct of this tyrant, and of the pope, who approved of the massacre in Sweden, and made the Christian religion subservient to this diabolical design, was so flagrant an enormity against humanity and against all the laws of God and nature, that they could expect nothing but the effects of the divine vengeance, as a reward for their bloody deeds: the wretched Dane was afterwards held forth as a spectacle to shew mankind, that though such acts of inhumanity may go unpunished for a little while, they are too crying against the order of nature to escape an exemplary punishment even in this world: if the conduct of Christian had not brought on an immediate revolution in Sweden, we must undoubtedly have concluded that the Swedes had lost all sentiments of humanity, with their liberties and privileges, and that they were only proper to be made hewers of wood, and drawers of water.

The revolution which happened in the reign of Charles the Eleventh was occasioned by a different means: it is true, it was not the prince who now governed against the interests and inclinations of the bulk of his subjects; but it was in the senate composed of the principal servants of the public, where all the abuses were committed, which made the people desire to have
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some change in the form of government; and the king and his ministers had art enough to turn this turbulent disposition of the people to their advantage. If the nobility and the states had foreseen the steps that this prince and his ministers were about to take, certainly they would have been more upon their guard, and not have so shamefully given up all their rights and privileges, and suffered themselves to be reduced to beggary, as they afterwards were.

After the death of Charles the Twelfth, when it was too late, the kingdom being then in the greatest misery, and surrounded with enemies, they thought of remedying the evil; but no sooner had they established a new form of government, which secured them all the privileges and prerogatives they could reasonably wish to have, than they immediately formed themselves again into parties, and if they had had then an enterprising prince upon the throne, who would take advantage of their divisions and animosities, he might easily have reduced the government to the same state it was in during the reigns of Charles the Eleventh and of Charles the Twelfth.

If the measures which were taken during the late reign, by the king's friends and the French party, had been properly conducted, they might easily have gained their point, because the leaders of the cap-party, though I am convinced they meant well to the nation, were by no means calculated to be at the head of government affairs: but their conduct at the beginning of the present reign cannot be justified, if we consider them either as patriots or as prudent men. Their keeping the diet so long sitting, and putting their constituents to such an enormous expence to support their representatives; and their endeavouring to
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limit the power of the crown still more, which was then but too much limited for a monarchical government, were not marks of patriotism.

Their attempting to govern aristocratically, whilst they had a king crowned; and their suffering themselves to be surprized in the manner they were, when they knew the disposition of the king and of the court towards them, and the enterprizing genius of the former, who was ambitious of doing something which he thought was worthy the name of Gustavus, clearly shew us that they had neither judgment nor prudence proper for conducting the affairs of the kingdom. The present king and his friends took advantage of their errors, and easily effected the late revolution; whether Gustavus Vasa, or Gustavus Adolphus, after having solemnly and repeatedly sworn to support the government as they found it, would have immediately entered upon such a scheme or not, I shall leave to my readers, who have studied their characters, to determine; and shall finish this chapter with observing, that although by the present form of government established in this kingdom, it appears that the power of the crown is extremely limited in proportion to what it is in many other limited monarchies, yet from the poverty of a great number of their nobility and gentry, and from their being dependent on the crown for subsistence, as the king has now the prerogative of naming almost all the officers of the state, both civil and military, without the consent of the senate, they will be so far dependent upon him for support, that their diets will only be called for form's sake, because no person dare attempt to oppose any thing which the king proposes.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME





Williams, John, 1727-1798

<<The>> Rise, Progress And Present State Of The Northern Governments; Viz.
The United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, And Poland: Or,
Observations On The Nature, Constitution, Religion, Laws, Policy, Customs,
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